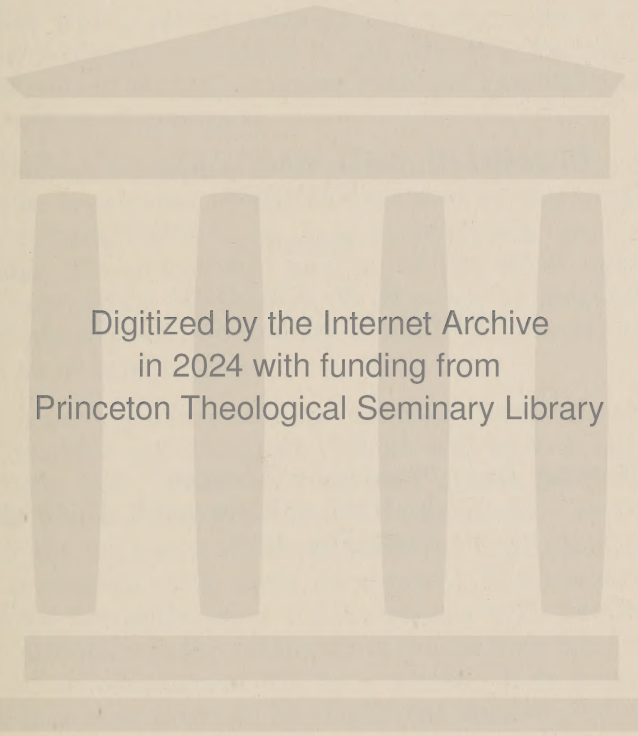


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THE
SPIRITUAL AND EDUCATIONAL
BACKGROUND
OF
FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE



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FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE
STUDIES

Edited by

H. M. J. KLEIN
FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN

Number One: "Professor Koeppen"

by H. M. J. Klein and R. D. Altick
Lancaster, 1938

PREFACE

In presenting this second volume of the "Franklin and Marshall College Studies", the editors continue the policy of presenting, from time to time, intimate studies which record some of the many aspects of cultural history contained in the life of a Pennsylvania college throughout more than one hundred and fifty years of existence.

A college which has lived since the colonial period may be considered as an integral part of the social and cultural history of a commonwealth and a nation. Its educational philosophy, its effect upon the community, its faculty, its reaction to national developments and events, are matters of general as well as of local interest.

It is not necessary to state that alumni and friends of Franklin and Marshall College will have a particularly keen interest in various phases of their Alma Mater's background and development. However, the influence of an educational institution is not impressed solely upon its alumni. The subjects selected for publication will be chosen with particular attention to the relationship which they bear to American educational life as a whole. It is hoped that they may prove to be of general interest and of permanent value.

H. M. J. K.

F. S. K.

O R D E R
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OF
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in the Borough and County of
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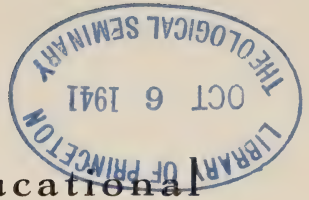
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Page of original dedication program
June 6th, 1787

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The
Spiritual and Educational
BACKGROUND
of
FRANKLIN and MARSHALL
COLLEGE

By

FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN

Department of History
Franklin and Marshall College

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE STUDIES
NUMBER TWO

LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

1939

“But for an integrated education, one that cultivates manliness and makes gentlemen as well as scholars, one that disciplines the social affections and trains young men to faith in God, consideration for his fellow man, and respect for learning, America has never had the equal of her little hill-top colleges.”

Growth of the American Republic
Morison and Commager. vol. 1, p. 410

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INTRODUCTION

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation and Oberlaender Trust, which interests itself in the development of cultural relations between the United States and the German speaking countries, recently received a report from Heinz Kloss, who had been engaged as a research worker in the field of German contributions to American life and thought. Mr. Kloss made the following statement:

"What perhaps is most necessary is an attempt to outline the common spiritual background of the German-American church bodies. How can we find out anything concerning the outcome, namely, the German-American religious tradition gradually becoming part of the general religious life in America, unless we are informed about the outset, that is to say, the spiritual goods these German-American denominations could muster at the time of their being transplanted into the new world?"

Two different approaches to this problem were recommended. One method involved a study of the common spiritual background of the Pennsylvania-Germans, which is now being undertaken. The other suggested plan was a study of the spiritual and educational traditions of Franklin and Marshall College, an institution which represented better than any other in America the religious and educational ideals of early German-American church bodies.

Through the generous cooperation of the Henry Janssen Foundation this particular study was made possible. The author has deeply appreciated the opportunity of carrying it out.

A study of the spiritual and educational background of a college is a problem of interpretation, involving the establishment of continuity and the synthesis of related developments. This brief study, therefore, chiefly represents an attempt to link together the various ideas which constituted the cultural background of an old American institution—the intellectual heritage of its founders; the plans of those who pioneered in it; the hopes and ideals of the men who worked with it; and the faith in its permanent usefulness which was kept alive from generation to generation.

It was necessary at the start to set certain limitations upon the scope of this survey, for the sake of clearly preserving a thesis of historical development. The history of ideas is a tempting field, which encourages one to linger overlong beside the main pathway, and the term "background" has fascinating implications which might well reach back into infinity. This study begins, as logically as possible, with a survey of spiritual and educational conditions in Germany when the age of pietism was at its height, since German pietism was the most influential religious force connected with colonial Pennsylvania. It seems equally apparent that it would be unwise or untimely to attempt any interpretation of events which have taken place in more recent years. The ideals and the character of the present institution were well and firmly established by 1853, when Franklin College and Marshall College were merged, and the study has not been carried beyond that point.

There have been many excellent individual studies made of some of the men and the movements which

are discussed in the following pages. Without them this work would have been extremely difficult. The pioneer work done by Dr. Dubbs, in his "History of Franklin and Marshall College" is a permanent record of valuable research. Dr. Dubbs, however, was instructed to "limit his studies to the history of the College, introducing that of the Theological Seminary at certain periods only,"¹ which was unfortunate, because he was ably qualified to have written a thorough analysis of the relationship between these two institutions, which formed such an important phase of college history. Much scholarly material has been published concerning various phases of European influence upon American educational life, and some of this has been repeated in this work. Whatever claim to originality the following study may possess is found chiefly in the establishment of a definite line of intellectual tradition which binds an institution of the present with its past.

¹ See Dubbs, Preface.

PART ONE

The Period of Experiment
1691 - 1787

CHAPTER ONE

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The history of Franklin and Marshall College extends from the founding of Franklin College in 1787 to the present time. A study of the background of the college must take into consideration the fact that the period of one hundred years preceding the actual founding of the institution is of as much importance as are the events in the century and a half of its existence.

The story of an institution, state, church or college, does not actually begin with the date of its charter or constitution. In this study we are concerned not only with *what* happened in the actual life of the college, which is history, but with the question of *why* and *how* events came to happen, which we consider the background of history.

The founding of Franklin College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the late eighteenth century was not accidental. Neither was it incidental or casual. It was rather the result of a long train of circumstances. It was the inevitable outcome of a growing idea which was brought to a practical and successful fruition. This idea was embodied in an educational institution and has preserved its identity for more than one hundred and fifty years. The first portion of this study is concerned with the European origin and development of this educational idea before it became crystallized into an American college.

2 FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE

The spiritual and educational ideal of an institution of learning belongs to the intangible forces. It is, however, not the less real. It is, in fact, the most human and influential of all the factors which determine the characteristics and the personality of a college. This soul of an institution is a thing apart from buildings, endowments, or external incidents. It is the creative element in the minds and the spirits of the men who are responsible for the beginning of an academic institution that is to thrive in the world of ideas.

Any analysis of the spiritual background of a college must deal not primarily with external practices or artificial labels, but with the heritage of ideas which have been transmitted by one or many men, and which eventually become unified in the teaching and the idealism of the entire college throughout its history. The educational background is likewise found in the intellectual training and standards of the first faculty and the high purposes of the founding trustees—traits which are in turn implanted in the lives of students and associates from one generation to another.

A modern educational institution is a very complex organism, made up of many departments and representing a cross-section of many and varied educational ideals and methods. The early American college was a very simple organism. It had a unified ideal and a very definite purpose, usually stated in the preamble to the charter. Its personality and the development of its underlying philosophy of life are much more easily identified and interpreted than are the more varied characteristics of a modern, mechanized, highly efficient and sorely complicated

educational system. From the simplicity of the frontier days of any college to the modern era, however, there runs a thread through the labyrinthine mazes—and the result is that usually certain dominant ideals and purposes preserve a continuity in the life of the institution, and give it not only a *raison d'être* but a unique and peculiar distinction somewhat akin to a personality of its own.

Colleges have sometimes been founded as a result of long and careful planning. Sometimes they have been due to the vision and financial support of a single individual. Sometimes they owe their existence to the enthusiastic endeavor of a group. Seldom have they been the result of any mass movement. Frequently they have been established by municipalities or states. Most of our earliest colleges, as in the case of Franklin College, were founded by religious denominations, although as a matter of fact the civic and humanistic motives were almost as decisive in the founding of Franklin College as was the religious purpose.

There is a closely related chain of circumstances which leads to the conclusion that in Lancaster or in the near vicinity—either in 1787 or within a very few years of that date, an educational institution for the training of ministers, and the making of good citizens, was to have been expected.

The idea which was to result in the establishment of Franklin College has roots which extend back almost a hundred years before its founding, and three thousand miles from its location. These roots reach beyond the efforts of certain Reformed and Lutheran clergymen, who were interested in providing higher education for the German population

of central Pennsylvania; they reach beyond the problems and difficulties of the German denominations and their leaders during the colonial period; they reach back definitely to the spiritual background and educational ideals which these leaders had received in Europe. This relationship was developing in the late 17th and early 18th century.

In 1691 the University of Halle was founded in Saxon Germany. It was probably the first modern university in the European world—modern in the sense that it stood for a type of independence and freedom in education which was unusual then, and which is, even today, not too widely practised in every twentieth century university. It was set apart from older and more orthodox centers of scholasticism. Rector Gundling, in 1711, called it "atrium libertatis," the vestibule of liberty. Its purpose, he said, was to lead to wisdom, that is, the faculty of distinguishing between true and false. But, he continued, this was impossible when any bounds are set by investigation. No man has a right to compel any other by threats of punishment to profess an opinion not his own! "Has an attempt at improvement ever been made without experiencing the reproach of subjectivism, of anarchy? Compulsion in these matters is evil everywhere. Truth rises before us: let him who can ascend, let him who dares, seize her; and we will applaud!" A few years later, in 1718, Heumann wrote, "The liberty and wisdom of Halle has spread its light also to the other German people and everywhere the professors are already ashamed to believe many a thing which appeared a sacred duty in the time of our fathers."

With such a standard the University of Halle was soon to occupy a distinctive position in eighteenth-century Europe as the center and source of academic liberty, and of independent experimentation. Instead of following the older and more conservative theory that the function of the university was to transmit acknowledged truth, Halle stood for the belief that truth must first be discovered, and that a university must train the student to carry out this task. As might have been expected, such a policy brought young, independent-thinking students from many parts of Germany to its doors.

The most important department at Halle was the department of philosophy, and it was in the field of philosophy that this intellectual experimentation was most noticeable. But in all of the German universities philosophy and theology were closely related. The education of ministers in Germany always was a function of the universities, while in France, for example, seminaries were established for this separate purpose. Halle became the center of one of the most important theological developments of the century, and two of her theologians were soon to influence thousands of students. The theology was pietism, and the two leading exponents of pietism were Philip Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke.

The pietist movement was to affect by far the larger majority of German emigrants to Pennsylvania. The term "pietism" has often been broadly used. Spener, a Frankfort pastor who was instrumental in the establishment of Halle, was chiefly responsible for it. He felt that the time was ripe for a second Reformation, since the enthusiasm of

the sixteenth century had now been supplanted by an orthodox theology as cold and unyielding as that which Martin Luther had opposed. To Spener, pietism was practical and definite—a simple principle which all denominations have long recognized: that individual religious piety is of first importance, and that all doctrines and regulations are secondary. Briefly, the pietistic school of Spener emphasized individual reading and study of the Bible; emphasized an individual sense of religious responsibility; emphasized, to its students, the importance of a missionary spirit—the need of education for the poor, the need of spiritual comfort for those alone in distant lands, the glories of a great democracy of mankind bound together by the common tie of a devout personal religious inspiration.

Like many other movements, pietism was to be taken up by various radical groups, and to develop along lines which Spener would not have imagined nor approved. But at the end of the seventeenth century, about 1700, the movement was in the first stages of its progressive enthusiasm, and at Halle the theological department was deeply influenced, almost from the founding of the institution, by August Hermann Francke, one of Spener's disciples, and the chief exponent of Spener's pietism. The work of this man, and of his son Gotthilf Francke, who succeeded him, is of very definite importance to Franklin College, because these were the men who inspired the missionaries who in turn investigated, directed and planned the spiritual and educational life of many Germans in Pennsylvania.

The theory of pietism was Spener's but its practical application was developed by the elder

Francke. He had been left an orphan at an early age, and as a young graduate became interested in the religious education of young children and orphans. Education, he said, was not a matter of writing books; it was a matter of work. He felt that scholastic theology was a dry and heartless study, and in consequence was dismissed from several positions. Where could he go more appropriately than to the newly-founded, pietistic University of Halle? Through the efforts of his friend and teacher Spener, he was appointed to the Halle faculty.

The town of Halle, on the Saale river, was surrounded by picturesque scenery, but was crowded and unattractive itself. It had narrow, crooked streets, muddy pavements, ramshackle dwellings, and a damp, musty odor from salt marshes hung over it continually. Here Francke began the famous Halle Institutions, or Halle Orphan House, which became more prominent than the university itself. From the very start, while he was conducting a pastoral charge in the suburbs, he began a small one-room school for orphans and needy children—a sort of seventeenth-century relief station in which he attempted to feed neglected children both physically and spiritually. His work and his sincerity attracted attention and support and the Orphan House grew into many departments of various grades and functions, through which thousands of young German students were to pass, and from which scores were eventually to go to foreign countries to carry on, in their turn, the example set by Francke's earnest efforts. It was an undertaking of some magnitude. By 1707, only twelve years after its

inauguration, the Halle Institutions numbered nine departments with more than a thousand pupils.¹

This is not as remote from the establishment of a college in Pennsylvania as it may seem. The relationship becomes more significant when we discover that from this unusual institution, which so strongly emphasized the association between education and religion, there came in the eighteenth century, the man who organized the Lutheran churches in America, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg; his son Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, the first president of Franklin College; John Christopher Kunze, who founded the German department of the University of Pennsylvania; Heinrich Helmuth, one of the founders of Franklin College. Eight members of the original board of trustees of Franklin College had attended Halle.²

"Too great emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that the men sent to Pennsylvania by Halle were men of large and mature views," wrote Schmauk, "with a thorough university education, conspicuous for their ability in linguistics, of great piety, and with such devotion to their work that no sacrifice was too great for them to make. Throughout the period of the lifetime of Muhlenberg, Halle never lost sight of her daughter in Pennsylvania. The intimacy and the closeness of the connection between the mother institution and her missionary church were remarkable. No important occurrence escaped her eye, and in the mapping out of every line of policy she was leading participant. The Halle missionaries

¹ von Raumer, "Augustus Hermann Francke," in Barnard, "German Teachers and Educators," p. 412.

² Helmuth, H. M. Muhlenberg, Peter Muhlenberg, Kurtz, Troldenier, von Buskirk, Shultz, Melsheimer.

were instructed to keep exact diaries of their ministerial acts and their pastoral experiences; to seek advice from the Halle fathers in all more important cases and to live in close intellectual and spiritual communion with Halle through correspondence. This feeling of affinity was constantly strengthened in the Pennsylvania field of labor by the arrival of new missionaries sent from Halle.”³

³ Schmauk, T. E., “The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania,” pp. 201-204.

CHAPTER TWO

EUROPEAN INTEREST IN PENNSYLVANIA

The years of the elder Francke's career at Halle from 1691 to his death in 1727 are significant in the history of Pennsylvania. This is the period which witnessed the most intensive publicity campaign which was ever introduced in Europe for the benefit of an American colony, and the largest part of this propaganda was centered upon Germany. And to Pennsylvania the Germans came by the thousands, chiefly because it was more thoroughly advertised by hundreds of books and pamphlets than any other portion of North America.¹ These years mark the initial period of mass emigration of German families to America and see the establishment of a field for missionary activity which would have stirred any young religious student in any century, whether he were influenced by pietism or not. This was the age of the great and pathetic Palatine emigration through London, when thousands lived in a tent city on the outskirts of that metropolis, singing their hymns and reading their Bibles while they patiently waited to be crowded into the leaky boats which might or might not get them to their expected destination. This is the age when Pennsylvania had more different sects than it had cities. This is the age of frontier settlements, when cabins were more important than catechism, when school teachers

¹ Sachse, J. F., *Penna. German Soc. Proc.*, v. 7, pp. 201-256; Knittle, "Palatine Emigration," pp. 7-20.

and preachers were almost impossible luxuries belonging to an old and far-off world.

The spiritual and educational condition of these Germans in Pennsylvania was to grow worse rather than better. The mother churches in Europe were not really aware of the serious plight of these American settlers until it was brought definitely to their attention by the investigations and reports of two outstanding missionaries, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Michael Schlatter. As a result of the interest and concern they stirred up, students who were leaving German universities to teach and preach throughout Germany became aware of the new and fertile field in Pennsylvania.

Both of these men were unusual personalities. Muhlenberg was a young German student who had been interested, like Francke, in starting a school for neglected children at Goettingen, which later was to develop into Goettingen Orphan House.² This led to his being recommended as a teacher at the Halle institution. The interest of this organization in the outside world at that time is shown by the fact that he was almost sent, during the following year, to East India for educational and missionary work.³ However, he remained in Germany and in 1741 Gotthilf Francke, interested in the young man's abilities and ideas, offered him a chance to work with the dispersed Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, and asked him to make a trial of it for a few years.

² Mann, W. J., "Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg," p. 11.

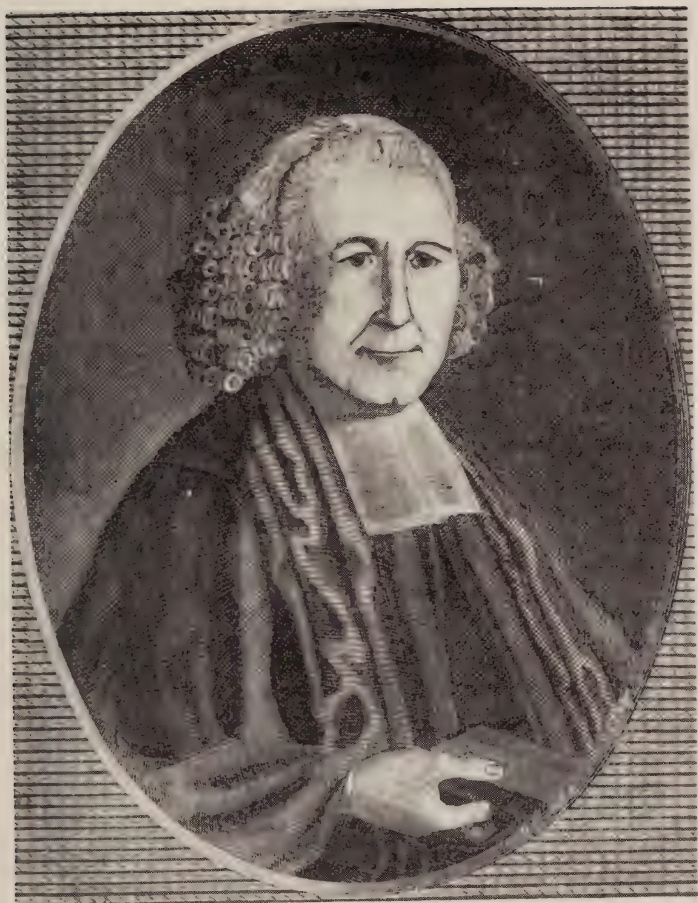
³ Ibid., p. 16.

The story of Muhlenberg's work and his travels in Pennsylvania need not be repeated in detail.⁴ It will suffice to say that he was never to return to his native land, and that in the face of hopeless confusion and many sectarian differences, he organized the various pastors and congregations in Pennsylvania into a Lutheran Synod in 1748. We are particularly interested in his detailed reports to Halle, published by the Halle authorities in the "Hallesche Nachrichten", which furnished that progressive institution with comprehensive information about the pitiful condition of the Pennsylvania Germans. Muhlenberg wrote of wedding and funeral customs, of the hardships of his endless travels, of hundreds of individual families and their spiritual needs, of churches without pastors, and schools without teachers. The reports were widely distributed, and gave the Europeans a first-hand account of the Pennsylvania problem.

Michael Schlatter presented the situation even more dramatically for the Reformed church. Schlatter was from Switzerland. His youth indicated that he had a restless, roving disposition, and when he finally went to the Netherlands and offered his services to the Holland Synods in 1746, for work with the destitute congregations of Pennsylvania, he was promptly accepted.⁵ He proved to be one of the most active and energetic of the missionaries, and he rapidly organized a Coetus of Reformed churches.

⁴ See the "Hallesche Nachrichten" vol. 1, Allentown 1886, for Muhlenberg's reports to Halle; Muhlenberg's "Selbstbiographie, 1711-1743" ed. by W. Germann, Allentown, 1881, and Mann, W. J. "Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg."

⁵ John Philip Boehm's letters to Holland were chiefly responsible for the decision of the Holland Fathers to send Schlatter to America. The active work of Boehm is thoroughly treated in W. J. Hinke's "Life and Letters of John Philip Boehm."



Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

A few years after his arrival, the church decided that more help was needed and selected Schlatter to carry back its report. The report, or "Appeal" was widely circulated throughout England, Holland and Germany, and he was sent through Germany and Switzerland to secure more men and money.⁶

Schlatter's "Appeal" ⁷ contained, like Muhlenberg's reports, a detailed journal of his own travels and experiences and a stirring petition for relief. "Blessed are those children," he said, "that have parents who in the absence of schools, have qualification, desire and time themselves to train their tender offspring. But how few there are with whom all this is found; and what a host of parents there is who have no desire for it, neither are in circumstances to attend to it . . . If there are no schools, provided with qualified school-masters, of which there are here almost none, or very few, will not the children who are not instructed in reading and writing, in two or at least in three generations become like the pagan aborigines, that neither book nor writing will be found among them! . . . O Reverend Fathers, let your bowels of mercy be moved toward these innocents. Your gifts may be the means of establishing schools, and of procuring suitable teachers, so that the youth may be instructed in useful knowledge and led to the fear and worship of God." ⁸

When Schlatter returned to America in 1752, he had with him six ministers ⁹, financial assistance

⁶ See Hinke, W. J. "Michael Schlatter" in Pa. German, v. 1, No. 4, pp. 3-21.

⁷ First printed in the Dutch language in Amsterdam. See English text in full in Harbaugh, H. "Life of Schlatter", pp. 87-234.

⁸ Harbaugh, H. "Life of Schlatter" pp. 218-219.

⁹ Rev's. Otterbein, Stoy, Waldschmid, Frankenfeld, Wissler, Rubel.

from Germany, Holland and England, and the support of the royal family of England, who allotted a large sum for the establishment of a free school system among the Germans in Pennsylvania, evidence that his appeal was comparatively successful.¹⁰

The connection between German universities and educational progress in Pennsylvania now became more apparent. From Halle alone there were twenty-four missionaries who came to the Lutheran church in Pennsylvania.¹¹ Throughout Germany, Holland and Switzerland the Reformed church supplied educated ministers as rapidly as funds would permit, but they could not come fast enough. At the middle of the century, German immigrants were arriving at the rate of several thousand a year, and by 1776 there were about 100,000 in the province.¹²

Most of the preachers served four or five different congregations, taught school at the same time and were not always as able men as Muhlenberg and Schlatter. The records are full of accounts of miserably unfit opportunists, some of whom could not

¹⁰ One thousand pounds was given by the King, and eight hundred by the Princess of Wales. See Harbaugh "Life" pp. 263-265.

¹¹ Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Nicholas Kurz, Sr., William Kurz, Jr., J. C. H. Helmuth, J. F. Schmidt, John Kunze, Henry E. Muhlenberg, Ludwig Voight, John Krug, Christopher Schulze, George Bager, Carl F. Wildbahn, Jacob vonBuskirk, John Friderici, Christian Streit, John Jung, Conrad Roeller, Jacob Goering, Daniel Schroeter, Daniel Lehmann, Henry Moeller, Frederick Ernst, Frederick Melsheimer, Daniel Kurz. Schulze preface to Halle Reports, April 27, 1787.

¹² There have been many varying estimates of the German population of Pennsylvania during this period. Port records of immigration were not consistently kept, and migrations of Germans from Pennsylvania to other colonies were not recorded. Some idea of the difference of opinion existing on this matter is shown by the following estimates:

Circa 1750		Circa 1776	
Stille	50,000	Franklin	53,000
Hallesche		Proud	83,000
Nachrichten	70,000-	Faust	110,000
	80,000	Barker	120,000
Seidensticker	90,000		
Muhlenberg	100,000		

The estimate of 100,000 by Diffenderfer, in "German Immigration Into Pennsylvania", p. 105, is probably the most reasonable figure.

write in English or German, or who preached sheer nonsense from the pulpits. Some of them, as one might expect in a frontier country, were little more than rascals, who made the work of more sincere men difficult by their petty thievery, drunkenness or radical ideas. The level of the teaching profession is fairly well illustrated by a note from the minutes of the Lutheran Synod, in which it is recorded that a man named Butler appeared and begged earnestly for admission into the Ministerium. "As his character was very poor," reads the record, "indifferent, and no signs of improvement were noticed, it was unanimously resolved that he must be forever regarded as incapable of serving in the ministerial office; and that he be advised to serve as a school teacher."¹³ Occasionally one reads of a minister who did more harm than good, like the Lancaster preacher who was compelled to resign in 1746 for lying, drunkenness and adultery, but continued to preach elsewhere.¹⁴ At the examination of one candidate for admission to the Lutheran ministry, who "boasted that in languages he was equal to all the United Preachers", he was handed a book of Hebrew psalms and asked to identify the language. He knew nothing of it. He was given a Greek Testament, which he could identify as Greek, but could not read a word. He was then asked to translate some Latin into German, which he could not do, and it was eventually discovered that "he could not write well a single letter of the alphabet or spell."¹⁵

¹³ Documentary History of the Ministerium, p. 187.

¹⁴ "Pennsylvanische Berichte" October 16, 1749.

¹⁵ Documentary History of the Ministerium, pp. 115-116.

Obviously, ministers and teachers would have to be trained in this country in large numbers. Some idea of the advantage of proper university training is apparent in the case of Muhlenberg's youngest son, Gotthilf Henry Ernst, who was sent to Halle when he was ten years old, and returned to Pennsylvania at the age of seventeen to enter the ministry. At the examination, he translated fluently from Hebrew into Latin, and answered analytical questions in the same language.¹⁶ This was the type of educated ministry which the Lutheran and Reformed churches hoped to secure.

In this respect the English colonies had developed much more rapidly. Harvard University was established shortly after the arrival of the English in New England, and William and Mary College had been supported by Episcopalian funds since its beginning. The Presbyterians, with the help of Scotch friends, could educate their ministry at Princeton. For the German churches, there was nothing.

The first general attempt at a uniform plan was the establishment of the free, or charity schools, as the result of Schlatter's "Appeal," and Schlatter was named superintendent of the project. Unfortunately they were not introduced tactfully and met with much opposition. Too much emphasis was placed upon the so-called ignorance of the English language. In England, a "Society for the Promotion of the Knowledge of God among the Germans" was formed. Bishop Chandler, of London, wrote in 1760, "The German Protestants . . . are the dregs of the people, poor, rude, ignorant of divine things, and so

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 123.

occupied with their rustic labors and domestic affairs, that they are scarcely able to find time enough to instruct and teach their children in matters pertaining to religion. What will become of them if your charity grows cold?" This was persuasive, but far from flattering.

Leading Germans, notably Christopher Saur of Philadelphia, voiced their opposition to apparent attempts to Anglicize the Germans. Why, they inquired, were the Irish, the Swedes and the Welsh allowed to retain their language, while the Germans were expected to speak English? ¹⁷ The minutes of the Reformed Church state: "Of what use they (the charity schools) will be to us we do not know thus far. Apparently, at least, and most likely, they will not be of much public or private service to our church, because:

"1. The only object of these schools is the introduction of the English language among the Germans, which is purely a political matter, hence 2. Our German schools can expect nothing, as examples show. 3. What has appeared to us especially wonderful and strange is that the direction and management of these schools under the auspices of the Trustees has been entrusted—the Reformed in Lancaster for example having been entirely passed over, to Moravians, Quakers, Separatists, perchance even Deists and others of this class. Can you think of a wolf caring for the pastures of fleece-bearing sheep?" ¹⁸

And yet many of the English element may have felt as Benjamin Franklin did in 1753, when he wrote: "Those who came hither are generally the

¹⁷ Knauss, "Social Conditions" p. 75.

¹⁸ Minutes of the Coetus, p. 138.

most stupid of their nation . . . and few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or pulpit, it is impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. I suppose in a few years interpreters will be necessary in the assembly.”¹⁹ This was harsh and probably unjust, but it was the type of attitude which turned the Germans away from any attempts made by English initiative, and most of the criticism was directed against Schlatter. Saur’s newspaper also suggested that there might be political motives behind the new charity schools, or even a plan to draw Lutherans toward the Church of England. Despite the fact that a number of the schools were established, in Lancaster, York, Reading, and other localities, by 1756 they seem to have disappeared, and the movement was considered a failure. The plan had to come from the Germans and it could not be a plan to turn the Germans into educated Englishmen.

While the mass of Germans concentrated in central Pennsylvania were of the laboring classes, and not greatly interested in higher education, there were among the German emigrants to America some of the most eminent scholars and cultural leaders of eighteenth century colonial life. There were more newspapers printed in German than in English in Pennsylvania before the Revolution. The first religious magazine in America was Saur’s “*Geistliches Magazien*.” The first Bible published in a European language in America was the Saur Bible. Melsheimer, Pastorius, Rittenhouse and Koster were

¹⁹ Letter to Peter Collinson, May 9th, 1753: Sparks, J., “Works of Franklin”, v. 7, pp 71-73.

scientists of the first rank in colonial history. The first president of the first national Congress was a German, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg.

The cultural and religious traditions of the Germans in Pennsylvania were closely connected with their language. Preachers educated in the best English universities could give them no intelligible spiritual comfort. Family prayers in English would have been ridiculous, almost sacrilegious, and the hymns which parents and grandparents knew by heart could not be altered for their children. The most intelligent among their leaders felt that provision for higher education must first be made in German, and that the infiltration of a new language would not be accomplished in a generation.

There were a number of German elementary schools in Pennsylvania. The school of the Lutheran church in Lancaster, conducted by Jacob Loser in 1748 had between sixty and eighty pupils in regular attendance.²⁰ A member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel wrote, "The Germans seemed to be abundantly well provided in teachers of one denomination or another . . . they might be for English schoolmasters, yet they choose to send their children rather to German schools, which they have everywhere in great plenty."²¹ Philadelphia newspapers contained advertisements requesting teachers for Reformed and Lutheran schools from time to time. The type of education provided, however, was very slight, usually including reading, writing, arithmetic, catechetical instruction and singing. Children of poor families could not afford to

²⁰ Documentary History of the Ministerium, p. 63.

²¹ Kuhns, "German and Swiss Settlements", p. 145.

attend, and some occasionally hired out their children to other families on condition that they would be given some elementary instruction.²² Church buildings were usually used for schoolrooms, and sometimes lotteries were used to collect funds for school buildings. German newspapers played an active part in attempting to stimulate the population to support the schools and to educate their children, but the financial problem made it difficult for many to do so.

A brief period of stagnation followed the failure of the English charity schools, and the approach of war hindered plans for re-organization. In the field of higher education, practically no developments took place until the period of the Revolutionary War. At this time a group of German university men took up the problem, and made their first step in 1773, when John Christopher Kunze recommended a plan to the Lutheran Synod of a German Seminary in Philadelphia, to provide a broad, general education for German youths, which would give them the same advantages offered by English academies in Philadelphia.²³ Kunze had come from Halle. The school was under the control of Lutheran ministers, and twenty-four subscribers were secured with pledges of ten pounds each. Kunze, Muhlenberg, Keppeler and Kuhl were directors, and the studies were to be the higher sciences, English law, medicine and theology. They began with five scholars, and managed to remain in existence as an institution

²² Knauss, *Social Conditions*, p. 76.

²³ *Documentary History of the Ministerium*, p. 145.

until 1778. It represented an original idea, but it was not the solution of their problem.²⁴

In 1779 Kunze founded the German department of the University of Pennsylvania, to prepare German students for university work. This was the year in which that institution was re-organized, for political reasons²⁵ and incorporated as a university. Its charter provided that the oldest pastor of each denomination in Philadelphia become a member of the new Board of Trustees, which placed Kunze and Caspar Weiberg on the board. Kunze insisted that something must be done for the counties which were occupied entirely by Germans whose children could not speak a word of English.

Kunze was called to New York the following year, and was succeeded by Justus Heinrich Helmuth, who took his place in the German department. Helmuth had also come from Halle. This German department was fairly successful for a number of years. Four young Germans were admitted into the University from it in 1782.²⁶ The "Deutsche Gesellschaft" of Philadelphia promised to pay tuition for two students in this school.²⁷ One of the first graduates was Heinrich Stuber, who entered the German department when it was organized, and received his degree in 1784. By 1785 seventy Germans were attending the school, studying English and German reading and writing, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, history and geography, with French as an elective.

²⁴ Scharf and Westcott, "History of Philadelphia". II, 1423; Knauss, "Social Conditions," p. 89-90.

²⁵ See defense of Provost Smith, "Penna. Gazette" June 14, 1783.

²⁶ "Philadelphische Correspondenz" April 10, 1782.

²⁷ Knauss, "Social Conditions" p. 90.

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Particular attention was given to public speaking. Tuition was six pounds a year. ²⁸

This department had several disadvantages. It was too far removed from the heart of the German population in Pennsylvania, and it was almost exclusively a Lutheran project. Under the circumstances, it was necessarily inferior to the English portion of the University, and movements toward the establishment of a similar institution, in the central part of the state, and with the support of all denominations, began to develop. The change from interest in Philadelphia to interest in Lancaster is due in part to an exchange of ministers just at this time — Helmuth left Lancaster to succeed Kunze in Philadelphia; and Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, youngest son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, left Philadelphia in 1780 to come to Lancaster. William Hendel, a Reformed pastor, arrived in Lancaster from Tulpehocken in 1782. This exchange between Lancaster and Philadelphia involved the men who were particularly interested in the problem of higher education for the Germans.

In 1784, at a Synod meeting in Lancaster, Helmuth made a plea for "a more scholarly educational system for the youth." ²⁹ In 1785, the Coetus of the Reformed church wrote to Holland, asking for help for "the establishment of a school in the central part of Pennsylvania, in which young men might be prepared for the ministry." The report continued, "Although the Reverend Fathers in sending the ministers not only have great trouble, but also great expense, yet some of the ministers prove

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *Documentary History of the Ministerium*, p. 193.

failures, either by bringing a stain with them, or because they cannot accommodate themselves to the ways of this country, and thus the travelling expenses, which by the great kindness of the Reverend Fathers, they receive, do not quite answer the full purpose for which they were given.

“2. Many young men in this country, who have great ability, would like to devote themselves to the service of the church, if they only had an opportunity, and many inhabitants have for some time had a greater confidence in natives than in foreigners, who just arrived, because they have several times fared badly.

“3. The English, who are here, are now establishing a second school in Carlisle, for which purpose they, at our last Coetus, desired our assistance, and also some Reformed teachers. Since we had reasons to fear that this might tend to suppress the German language, and even our nationality, and might be to the disadvantage of our religion, for they might accept a Reformed teacher only as a matter of form, we excused ourselves on the ground of our inability; we fear that they will soon establish the third school in the border regions, for they do not lack support from their nation.

“However humbly we may begin this work, which in our judgment is so necessary and useful for our religion and language, yet two teachers are required, whose salary is far beyond our ability if we are not generously supported by contributions from outside.”³⁰

The Dutch Synods, however, were not anxious to establish the new college, and to allow ministers

³⁰ Minutes of the Coetus, p. 403 et seq.

trained in America to represent their denomination.

By 1786 the actual negotiations to carry out the projected plan were under way. The initiative toward the founding of what was to be Franklin College came from a Lutheran and a Reformed pastor in Lancaster—Reverend Henry Ernst Muhlenberg and Reverend William Hendel; and from a Lutheran and a Reformed pastor in Philadelphia,—Reverend Helmuth and Reverend Weiberg. Additional enthusiasm was noticeable in other sources. Rev. Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, then pastor of several congregations in Lancaster County, stirred up his little community of New Holland to much interest in education by organizing a high school for both German and English pupils.³¹ Articles appeared in Philadelphia newspapers, recommending an interdenominational college, which might attract more students than the University of Pennsylvania, because there the instruction staff of the German school was entirely Lutheran. One article commented on the fact that German students at the English school in Philadelphia were subject to some derision, and stated the opinion “that such a school was necessary in order that the Germans might be able to take an active part in public affairs; in a German college the Germans would not be discouraged by being termed Dutchman or Sour Crout, as happened in the English colleges.”³² He also suggested Lancaster as a good location for the new school.

The Reformed Coetus, in its letter to Holland in 1786, renewed its request for financial assistance,

³¹ Minutes General Assembly of Penna., Feb. 22, 1785.

³² Philadelphische Correspondenz, August 8, 1785.

stating that "we repeat our most earnest petition that you support with your favor our plan with reference to the erection of a school, since this, if not the only, is at least the safest and surest way to provide our churches with honest and tried young men, well acquainted from their youth with the customs of the country. The Reverend Fathers themselves will see that it is very hazardous to continue sending ministers from Europe, since they have too often proved failures and in the future may be equally bad. We would rather get along as best we can than further give offense to other denominations or sects, for we all dwell together here." ³³

Lancaster was obviously the most desirable place for the establishment of the college. It was the largest inland town in the colonies, and was situated in the heart of the region so heavily populated by the Germans. Muhlenberg, Helmuth, Melsheimer and Hendel had worked in Lancaster and its vicinity, and had many friends and contacts there. It was only a two-day journey from Philadelphia. Ten miles to the west lay the Susquehannah river, and two miles to the east, the Conestoga. The little town of several thousand inhabitants was regularly laid out, somewhat like Philadelphia, with a central courthouse in the square, and two main streets at intersecting right angles. "Not more than fifty English families live here, it is said," wrote Schoepf, ³⁴ "and thus the English is by no means the prevailing language, but it is the legalized language. The inhabitants carry on farming, crafts and trade. But their trade is not very considerable, the town

³³ Minutes of the Coetus, p. 409.

³⁴ Schoepf, "Travels in the Confederation", v. 2, pp. 10 et seq.

lying too near Philadelphia. There is here a handsome Lutheran church, and a Latin school."

Schoepf has written a valuable contemporary account of Henry Ernst Muhlenberg. "The most important thing for me at Lancaster was the very agreeable acquaintance which I had the pleasure of making with the pastor of the Lutheran congregation there, Mr. Heinrich Muhlenberg. This excellent man, through his own diligence, has gained a very considerable knowledge of natural history, and is unwearied in the study of the animals, plants and minerals of this region. I have reason to regret that I came to know him so late and only for a brief space; his acquaintance would have been the more valuable to me and his memory will be all the more cherished by me, since among native born Americans he was the only amateur of natural science I got to know and could question on that subject. If among his countrymen there were many of his exemplary zeal and diligence after knowledge, America would soon know better its own productions and natural history would be greatly enriched. The collection he has begun of domestic minerals is small but remarkable, since a better is nowhere to be found."

Gotthilf Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, who was to become the first president of Franklin College, had been born in New Providence, Montgomery County in 1753. He was sent with his older brothers, Peter and Frederick, to Europe in 1763, where they attended the Halle Orphan House. Here, at the age of ten, young Henry began his study of German, Latin, Hebrew and French. He entered the university of Halle in 1769 and returned to America the following year, at which time he was examined by the



Documents concerning the Reformed Church in
Pennsylvania, in the Archives at the
Hague, Holland

Lutheran Ministerium, and ordained, after passing a most successful examination, at the age of seventeen. He preached in Philadelphia and other congregations until he came to Lancaster in 1779, as the pastor of Trinity Lutheran church.

Muhlenberg's varied talents are an excellent illustration of the broad intellectual curiosity which was so often fostered by the European universities. He was a famous and beloved preacher, but he was also America's first outstanding botanist.³⁵ He was a mineralogist, chemist, well versed in medicine and an excellent linguist. He corresponded with the highest authorities on natural science, and was visited by Humboldt and Bonpland.³⁶ He worked and wrote diligently. Long botanical explorations were common with him, but he found time to publish a varied series of writings, among them works on botany, ethics, theology, and a German-English and English-German dictionary, the first published in America.³⁷

Reverend John William Hendel, the other Lancaster pastor interested in the foundation of a college, had been born in the Palatinate in 1740, educated at Heidelberg, and was sent to Pennsylvania by the Reformed Church of Holland in 1764. He was pastor at Lancaster, Tulpehocken, again at Lancaster from 1782 to 1794, and finally at Philadelphia from 1794

³⁵ Appleton, "Cyclopedia of American Biography."

³⁶ Schmauk, T. E., "The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," p. 338.

³⁷ His publications include:

"Catalogus Plantarum Americae Septentrionalis" (1813)

"Reduction of all the Genera of Plants contained in the 'Catalogus Plantarum' to the Natural Families of De Jussieu's System" (1815).

"Description uberior Graniumum et Plantarum Calamarium Americae Septentrionalis Indignarum et Circurum" (1817).

"Deutsch-Englisches und Englisch-Deutsches Worterbuch" by Muhlenberg and Schipper (1812).

to 1798. Hendel had carried out much missionary work in frontier settlements of Maryland and Virginia and was active in all humanitarian work. He was to become the first vice-president of Franklin College.³⁸

Justus Henry Christian Helmuth was born at Helmstedt in the Duchy of Brunswick in 1745, and attended the Halle Orphanage and University. He came to Pennsylvania in 1769, and became pastor in Lancaster, the congregation promising that he should receive "a healthy, suitable and free parsonage, kitchen-garden and requisite stabling, ten cords of wood annually, 25 pounds Penna. currency every quarter, and all the perquisites customary here."³⁹

Helmuth was rigid in church discipline, and definitely opposed to the introduction of any English language into the German churches. His oratory was excellent, and his manner pleasant, and he succeeded in re-organizing and establishing the Lancaster congregation on an efficient and orderly basis. He served as one of the trustees of Franklin College, and taught German for many years at the University of Pennsylvania.⁴⁰

Reverend Caspar Weiberg was born in Westofen, Germany, and came to America in 1762. He was a prominent Reformed pastor in Philadelphia from 1763 until his death in 1790. He was one of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and it was partly through his influence that a resolution was passed there, providing that "a German pro-

³⁸ Harbaugh, H., "Fathers of the Reformed Church", v. 2, pp. 120-130.

³⁹ Schmauk, T. E., "The Lutheran Church," p. 331 n.

⁴⁰ See Schmauk, T. E. "The Lutheran Church," pp. 331-336; Dictionary of Am. Biog., v. viii, pp. 515-516.

fessor of philology should be appointed, whose duty should be to teach the Latin and Greek languages through the medium of the German tongue both in the Academy and the university,"—a position which was held by Dr. Kunze.⁴¹

These four men, all of them educated in Germany, and all of them prominently known as leaders of the German population in either Lancaster or Philadelphia or both cities, carried out the actual plans and details associated with the establishment of the new college at Lancaster.⁴² It seems to have been largely due to the influence of Helmuth and Weiberg in Philadelphia that the original petition for a charter was signed by prominent Philadelphians, who lent financial and moral support. It is also of some consequence that we recall the disturbed condition of Pennsylvania government in 1787, and note that among the first contributors to the college which was to serve the German population of central Pennsylvania, and among its first trustees, were many men who were prominent leaders of the Federalist faction, which was to be much concerned with Pennsylvania politics during that same year.

These related incidents in the background of Franklin College indicate several definite conclusions. In the first place, the influence of the pietist movement and the Halle emphasis upon missionary work was definitely responsible for a very close relationship between the ministry in Pennsylvania and the European universities. In the second place, the fact that the Lutheran and Reformed churches re-

⁴¹ Harbaugh, H., "Fathers of the Reformed Church," v. ii, pp. 100-108; Learned, "Dedication of the Bechstein Library" p. 37.

⁴² See Chapter III.

quired an educated ministry made the Pennsylvania problem particularly important, because Europe could not supply them in sufficient numbers. Finally, we can see in the movement to establish Franklin College several factors which indicate that progress had been made. There was cooperation between denominations, for among the trustees were representatives of the Moravian, Episcopal and Catholic churches, as well as of the Lutheran and Reformed groups. There was popular recognition of its need, for the sponsors included men of national prominence. And there was a worthy standard established, for its first faculty was made up of some of the most prominent scholars of their day, with a background of European university training which set the ideals of the institution as high as those of any in America. We can understand the feelings of Helmuth and Weiberg when they wrote, in 1787: "The fortunate moment appears to have arrived when the Germans of America are offered an opportunity of advancing their educational institutions to the fortunate position occupied by those of their brethren in Europe. The first German college in America is about to be founded, and the project is supported with great zeal even by persons who are not Germans, so that there can be no doubt that the whole movement is directed by more than a human hand." ⁴³

⁴³ Jan. 19th, 1787. Franklin College Mss.

PART TWO

The Period of Transition
1787 - 1832

CHAPTER THREE

FRANKLIN COLLEGE DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Franklin College was established in 1787, and remained in existence. It did not, however, continue in the form which its founders had anticipated. Its first forty years were marked by frequent changes in its administration, various locations in Lancaster, financial worries, and several changes in the nature and conduct of its educational work. It survived the period with sufficient vitality to emerge in the forties as an active and successful college.

Franklin College was formed, fortunately, as the result of the cooperation of three different groups. One group represented the local interests of Lancaster and nearby communities; the second group consisted of men concerned with affairs of the commonwealth and the Federal government; and the third group represented the church, its various branches uniting with an interdenominational interest in education as a spiritual force in this new country.

It is doubtful whether any one of these groups, by itself, could have succeeded in maintaining an educational institution during the confused conditions of the transition period, but the combination of these three interests was unusual and valuable. In addition to this, a large grant of land had been given by the Pennsylvania legislature to the College,¹ and the

¹ Section Four of the Charter, granted March 10th, 1787. Certified transcript of this charter is in Franklin and Marshall Mss.

administration of this grant helped to keep the Board of Trustees in active existence. While the college continued its precarious career, regular meetings of the Board of Trustees were held, and the churches were kept notified of its activities.

With gifts of land from the state, with a distinguished Board of Trustees, with an eminent faculty, with encouraging subscriptions from many parts of Pennsylvania, and with the cooperation of many religious denominations, the opening exercises of Franklin College were arranged to be held on June 6th, 1787. Elaborate plans were made months in advance to insure the success of the inauguration. A printed circular sent to the trustees in January stated:

“You have no doubt read in the papers published by Mr. Steiner and others, that agreeable prospects have been opened to our German nation in this western land, concerning the establishment of a German school. In all parts of the world God has for centuries distinguished the Germans as the recipients of his care; but it is in North America and especially in Pennsylvania that they have experienced the special blessings of his Providence. Most of the Germans were poor and forsaken when they came to this country, but their industry and the blessings of the Lord has placed many of them in prosperous circumstances, so that there are comparatively few of them who are unable to make a comfortable living. It is not too much to say that the Germans occupy the front rank among the people who have made Pennsylvania a fertile field, even the garden of North America.

"But with all these advantages most of them have remained standing on the lowest plane of service. The Germans, on account of their peculiar virtues, have hitherto been very necessary members of the Republic; but they have not considered that a true Republican must also possess education, so as to take part in directing the rudder of the government, and to give his children an opportunity of rising to the higher levels of republican utility . . .

"Honored Sirs, you have been appointed Trustees of this institution, and even without our encouragement you will not fail to secure for our children and children's children an opportunity to become useful citizens of our republic." ²

Reverend Weiberg and Reverend Helmuth signed this letter. Helmuth was particularly active in connection with preliminary arrangements. In March, he wrote to Henry Muhlenberg, giving him detailed instructions for the exercises. The sermon was to effectively impress upon the people of Lancaster the importance of higher education, "but it must under no circumstances be more than twenty-five minutes length." The sermon was to be preached in German. Muhlenberg was to offer a prayer, making special mention of the prosperity of the Germans, and of its increase by means of education. Philadelphia singers were to be sent to Lancaster to assist with the music. The German hymn was to have responses sung by children seated before the Altar, "which would make a good impression on their parents." Four thousand copies of the Order of Exercises were to be printed, which indicates the large attendance they expected. Helmuth then added a more mate-

² Jan. 19th, 1787. Copy in Franklin College Mss.

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v.1

Freyhheitsbrief

der

Deutschen Hohen Schule,

(College)

in der

Stadt Lancaster,

in dem

Staate Pennsylvaniens;

nebst einer

Anrede an die Deutschen

dieses Staats,

von den

Trustees der besagten Hohen Schule.

Philadelphia:

Gedruckt bey Melchior Steiner, in der Nees-Strasse,
zwischen der Zweyten und Dritten-Strasse. 1787.

First announcement of Charter and plans for
Franklin College, January, 1787

realistic note by stating that he expected to bring 2500 pounds from Philadelphia subscriptions, and added, "I hope you will love the contributors and most cheerfully do what they tell you." ³

No detail was left undone to make the ceremony an auspicious occasion. Formal invitations were widely circulated and by June 5th and 6th, the town was full of distinguished visitors and interested friends of the project. The Lutheran Ministerium and the Reformed Coetus had arranged their meetings in Lancaster to be present at this inauguration. ⁴

Despite the meagre accounts which exist, giving any official descriptions of the ceremony, it seems very evident that this was a great day for the colonial town of Lancaster, and for the many citizens of Pennsylvania interested in the particular problems of its German population. There were several thousand people assembled, many of whom had come from Philadelphia. ⁵ Benjamin Franklin, in whose honor the institution had been named and who had been a generous contributor to its subscription list, ⁶ is believed to have left the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and to have come to Lancaster with his friend Hector St. John Crevecoeur. ⁷ Ministers

³ March 19th, 1787. Original in Franklin College Mss.

⁴ Minutes of the Coetus, p. 411; Documentary History of the Ministerium, p. 216.

⁵ Philadelphische Correspondenz, June 19, 1787.

⁶ Franklin gave 200 pounds. List in the Franklin College Mss.

⁷ The question of whether or not Franklin was actually present at this dedication has often been raised. It is true that his name was not mentioned in contemporary newspaper accounts of the ceremony. However, the newspaper accounts did not mention the names of any of the prominent statesmen and political leaders who were present, but confined their notices to the activities of the clergymen who actually participated in the services. Dubbs believed that these newspaper accounts were written by Benjamin Rush, who would not have considered Franklin's presence as unusual.

That Franklin was present seems corroborated by the following evidence:

from over the state gathered for the occasion. Citizens of Lancaster entertained old friends and prominent visitors. A letter written by Jasper Yeates' daughter describes the scene at their home as follows: "We had a large company to dine here on Thursday, most of whom were strangers from Philadelphia who came up to be present at the dedication of our college: your good man (one of the Hubley family) made one at our table. I suppose he will wish to give you the first description of the procession and music at the consecration of Franklin College, and I will not disappoint him. It was very solemn to see so many youths walking in order, and brother John being foremost helped to make a great impression on me . . ." ⁸

On the 5th of June, the day preceding the dedication, the trustees assembled in the Lancaster Court House, and elected the faculty of the new college.

Hector St. John Crevecoeur wrote, in his "Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie et dans L'Etat de New York"—

"In the year 1787 I accompanied the venerable Franklin, at that time Governor of Pennsylvania, on a journey to Lancaster, where he had been invited to lay the cornerstone of a college which he had founded there for the Germans . . ." etc.

A letter from the Abbe Morellet, one of Franklin's friends in France, shows that Franklin had described the ceremony to him in a previous letter. The Abbe wrote: (Franklin, Works, Bigelow ed., v. 11, p. 345) "Auteuil, July 1787.

"In the dedication of your college in the County of Lancaster, and the fine procession, and the religious ceremony, where met together Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Catholics, Moravians, *e tutti quanti*, there was toleration in practise. I have translated the whole of the pamphlet which you sent me and had it inserted in our *Mercury* . . ." etc. This probably referred to the dedicatory program.

All reports of the Constitutional Convention, at which Franklin was in attendance, show that he did not participate in any of their proceedings from the 6th of June to the 9th of June, 1787. However the Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Penna. indicate (vol. xv, p. 223) that Franklin was present at their meeting in Philadelphia on Wednesday, June 6th. Van Doren's "Life of Franklin" refers to Fitzgerald's diary of Washington in which it is recorded that Franklin was entertained at dinner by Washington on June 5th, 1787. This is hard to reconcile with Crevecoeur's statement. Obviously, until further evidence is discovered, the question must remain unsolved.

⁸ June 8, 1787, M. Yeates to Mrs. Jacob Hubley. John Yeates was enrolled in the Latin Department of Franklin College. Mss. letter in Franklin College Mss.

Rev. Henry Ernst Muhlenberg was Principal, or president; Rev. Hendel, Vice Principal; Rev. F. V. Melsheimer, Professor of Latin, Greek and German languages; Mr. William Reichenbach, Professor of Mathematics; and Rev. Joseph Hutchins, Professor of the English Language and Belles Lettres.⁹

The following morning, an impressive procession, headed by the Sheriff, and including the faculty, students, clergymen, local and state officials, and visitors, marched from the Court House to the Lutheran Church, where the exercises were held.

It was an unusual gathering in one respect. It is probable that at no other time in previous Pennsylvania history had the representatives of various religious denominations met with so unified a purpose. A contemporary newspaper commented on this: "It was a spectacle beautiful in itself, and which we may with certainty pronounce no age or country nor any set of people, ever beheld before. On the same day, in the same church, and to the *same* set of Christians, the ministers of different religious persuasions successively joined in the worship and adoration of the Supreme Being."¹⁰

The program for the dedicatory exercises is interesting enough to be presented in full. It was printed in both the English and German languages, and was as follows:

FRANKLIN COLLEGE

"A meeting of the Trustees of Franklin College to be held at the Court-House, in Lancaster, on the 5th of June, at Three o'clock in the Afternoon, when

⁹ *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, June 19, 1787.

¹⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13th, 1787.

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the Officers of the Board and the Faculty of the College are to be chosen.

“On Wednesday, the 6th of June, at 9 o'clock in the Morning, the Gentlemen mentioned in the following Order of Procession are to meet at the Court House, and proceed from thence two and two to the German Lutheran Church.

PROCESSION

1. Sheriff and Coroner of the County.
2. Pupils.
3. Faculty of the College.
4. President, Vice-President, and Secretary of the Board of Trustees. Members of the Board, two and two.
5. Corporation of the Borough and Justices of the Peace.
6. Coetus of the Reformed Church, President, Secretary and Members, two and two.
7. Corporation of the Lutheran Congregation.
8. Elders and Officers of the English Presbyterian Congregation.
9. The Officers of the Roman Catholic Congregation.
10. The Vestrymen and Church Wardens of the Protestant Episcopal Congregation.
11. The Officers of the Moravian Congregation.
12. Corporation of the Reformed Congregation.
13. Evang. Lutheran Ministry.
14. County Lieutenant and Officers of Militia.
15. Citizens and strangers.

After they are seated in Church, the Dedication to be conducted in the following Manner.

1. Prayer before the Altar in German.
2. The following Ode in English:

(The first Strophe reads as follows)

“Hail, ye Banks of Conestogoe!
Fertile, favor'd Region, hail!
Chosen Seat of FRANKLIN COLLEGE
What but Good can here prevail?
Science never comes alone
Peace and plenty,
Heaven itself support her Cause.”

3. A Hymn in German
4. A Sermon in German
5. A Solo. The first Strophe of the German Hymn.
6. A Sermon in English
7. A Solo. The Second Strophe of the English
Ode repeated in German
8. Prayers before the Altar in English.
9. Dr. Watts' Imitation or Paraphrase of the 19th
and 132d Psalms: ¹¹
10. An Ode in German
11. A Collection for the Benefit of the Institution.

The Procession to return to the Court House in the foregoing Order. ¹²

It will be noticed that official recognition was made of all important religious groups in this ceremony, and that both English and German were intermingled as much as possible, even to the extent of including a sermon, a prayer and an ode in each language.

Rev. Muhlenberg's sermon in German emphasized the importance of learning for his German fellow-citizens, and spoke of its influence on religion, gov-

¹¹ Omitted here.

¹² Original copy in Franklin College Mss. Although many of these programs were distributed, they are now exceedingly rare.

ernment and the various professions.¹³ Dr. Hutchins, rector of St. James Episcopal church preached in English, recommending the gradual adoption of English through the schools, which was probably not so popular with the majority of the congregation. "As the limited capacity of man," he said, "can very seldom attain excellence in more than one language, the study of English will consequently demand the principal attention of your children . . . On the score of religion you can have no possible objection to the use of the English tongue, because it is undoubtedly as proper as the German for the conveyance of religious instruction to your children."¹⁴ These remarks may have been greeted coldly, but Rev. John Herbst, Moravian pastor, delivered a closing prayer which was more agreeable, mentioning the patronage of their "Protector, Benjamin Franklin," and abstaining from any reference to the language question.¹⁵

Franklin College was now established.

A contemporary newspaper described the newly appointed faculty with enthusiasm. "All the teachers in the college are equally qualified with the principal for the branches of literature assigned to them. Mr. Hendel, the Vice-Principal, is a man of profound learning and of a most exemplary character. The Professor of the Latin, Greek and German languages is a stranger to this place, but comes recommended to us as a man of critical knowledge and taste in polite literature. Mr.

¹³ "Eine Rede bey der Einweihung von der Deutschen Hohe Schule oder Franklin College . . ." Lancaster 1788. Frankliniana Collection

¹⁴ "A Sermon preached in the Lutheran Church on the Opening of Franklin College . . ." Joseph Hutchins. Printed Philadelphia 1806. Frankliniana Collection.

¹⁵ Mss. in Franklin College Mss.

FRANKLIN COLLEGE.

A MEETING of the Trustees of FRANKLIN COLLEGE to be held at the Court-House, in Lancaster, on the 5th of June, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, when the Officers of the Board and the Faculty of the College are to be chosen.

On Wednesday, the 6th of June, at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, the Gentlemen mentioned in the following Order of Procession are to meet at the Court-House, and proceed from thence two and two to the German Lutheran Church.

PROCESSION.

1. Sheriff and Coroner of the County.
2. Pupils.
3. Faculty of the College.
4. President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Board of Trustees. Members of the Board, two and two.
5. Corporation of the Borough and Justices of the Peace.
6. Cetus of the Reformed Church, President, Secretary and Members, two and two.
7. Corporation of the Lutheran Congregation.
8. Elders and Officers of the English Presbyterian Congregation.
9. The Officers of the Roman Catholic Congregation.
10. The Vestrymen and Church Wardens of the Protestant Episcopal Congregation.
11. The Officers of the Moravian Congregation.
12. Corporation of the Reformed Congregation.
13. Evang. Lutheran Ministry.
14. County Lieutenant and Officers of Militia.
15. Citizens and Strangers.

After they are seated in Church, the Dedication to be conducted in the following Manner.

1. Prayers before the Altar in German,
2. The following Ode in English:

Page from original Dedication Program,
June 6th, 1787

Hutchins, who was educated in the college of Philadelphia under Drs. Smith and Allison is greatly esteemed among us, and has taught a school here for some time past with great reputation. The Professor of Mathematics is said to be an able man in his way. In short, a cluster of more learned or better qualified masters, I believe, have not met in any university

“From the establishment of this college a new era will commence in Pennsylvania. The introduction of the English language among our Germans, who constitute at least one fourth of the inhabitants of the state, cannot fail of being attended with the happiest consequences both to themselves and to the public, while their own language will hereby be preserved from extinction and corruption by being grammatically taught in the college, a circumstance which will enable them to become a vehicle to our country of all the discoveries of one of the most learned nations of Europe.” ¹⁶

The forty-five members of the Board of Trustees of the new college represented various interests and professions. The charter provided that fifteen members were to belong to the Lutheran church, fifteen to the Reformed church, and “the remainder from any other society of Christians.”

In addition to their religious affiliations, we may consider these trustees as three groups, typical of three distinct interests—the *community*, the *state* and the *church*. Of these groups, one was to remain active and diligent in the management of the college, and to save it from collapse during a trying period. One group lost interest in the details of

¹⁶ Pennsylvania Gazette, June 13, 1787.

administration very shortly, and the last group was helpless to materially assist the institution.

The first and most valuable group represented the community of Lancaster. About ten of the trustees were prominent citizens—men who were active in the commercial, political and professional life of the town. Adam Reigart, proprietor of the "Grape Hotel" was a member of the board. His hotel had been a Whig headquarters during the Revolution, and he had been in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1780. Major John Hubley was prominently known as a lawyer. He had been a member of the state constitutional convention in 1776, and also prothonotary, clerk of the Orphan's Court, recorder of deeds, and commissary officer for the Continental Army. He was one of the most active members of the board of trustees and managed most of its affairs for many years. Colonel Adam Hubley had been in the Pennsylvania Legislature for several years, and became a member of the state Senate in 1790. Jasper Yeates was well known throughout the state as a jurist, and was a member of the convention which ratified the constitution in 1787, along with Stephen Chambers and John Hubley, also of Lancaster. Paul Zantzinger was in charge of a tailoring establishment which had supplied uniforms for revolutionary soldiers during the Revolutionary war. Caspar Shaffner was clerk of the Council.

That they were prominent citizens is indicated by the fact that when George Washington came to Lancaster in 1791, six out of the seven members of the local reception committee were trustees of the

College—Reigart, John Hubley, Zantzinger, Hand, Shaffner and Krug.¹⁷

This Lancaster group of trustees was not particularly a German group, though some of them were of German ancestry. Most of them occupied professions which involved quite as much contact with the English language as with the German, such as business or politics. They received most of the responsibility for the financial state of the college in ensuing years, and their administration was much to their credit, since the income from college tuition was very small, and the management of the legislature's gift of land involved careful and efficient handling over a long period of years. John Hubley, as Vice-President of the Board, maintained a voluminous correspondence in connection with land sales, disputes with "squatters", and property investments in Lancaster. These matters the church group could not have handled, and the Philadelphia group would not have bothered with them. The permanence of the college through these early years is due in great part to the good judgment and careful management of members of the board of trustees who lived in the town of Lancaster.

The meagre records of the Board of Trustees during this period show that after the opening of the college in 1787, Philadelphia members were rarely present at board meetings. Neither was the anticipated financial support from Philadelphia forthcoming. As we search for an explanation of the fact that a college sponsored by such prominent national figures should have so soon

¹⁷ *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung*, July 13, 1791.

fallen into serious financial difficulties, we notice that there is an interesting relationship between these men and the affairs of the national government at this particular time.

The Board was headed by Thomas Mifflin, who succeeded Franklin as President of Pennsylvania in 1788, one year after the college was founded. Other members were Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania and later Governor; Joseph Hiester, a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1790 and later a Governor of Pennsylvania; Robert Morris and George Clymer, members of the Constitutional Convention and both prominent Philadelphia financiers; Jasper Yeates, previously mentioned as a prominent jurist; and Dr. Benjamin Rush, who had been a Pennsylvania delegate to the Continental Congress, and who was very active in state political affairs at the time.

That these men were interested in educational progress was natural and commendable; but it is also very apparent that they were also very much concerned with political conditions in Pennsylvania at this particular time, and that within a few months every one of them was actively involved in the problems of the new government. The year 1787 was one of the most feverish in the history of Pennsylvania politics. In previous years, political affairs were dominated by a Quaker faction in Philadelphia, but with the coming of independence for the nation and the state, new factions and interests speedily developed. German and Scotch-Irish sections vied with each other and with Quaker districts for the exercise of a newly found political power. Pennsylvania statesmen soon realized that

political overtures would have to be made on a much wider scale, if they expected to maintain their leadership. "Nowhere in the country," wrote Dunaway, "were politics characterized by greater strife than in Pennsylvania at the turn of the century and even for a decade thereafter."¹⁸

In this summer of 1787, the most important political problem for the nation as well as the state was the question of the new government, which was then being discussed at Philadelphia. Pennsylvania, a large and important state, was more closely in touch with the affairs of the Philadelphia Convention than were other sections of the country, and Pennsylvania representatives, led by James Wilson, were strongly Federalist.¹⁹ These men were very shortly to become much concerned with securing favorable support from the state when the campaign for ratification took place in the fall.

Political alignments in Pennsylvania had been changing rapidly. One of the most significant developments was the rise of the German population as a factor of political importance, taking the place to some extent of the Quaker supremacy of a previous period. The contest between those who wanted the Federal Constitution adopted, and those who opposed it was going to be a bitter one, and the result of the German vote in Pennsylvania might easily be the deciding factor.²⁰

¹⁸ Dunaway, "History of Pennsylvania," p. 419.

¹⁹ The Pennsylvania delegation included Wilson, Franklin, Robert Morris, Couverneur Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Mifflin, Ingersoll, Fitzsimmons.

²⁰ For studies in partisan problems in Pennsylvania during this period, see MacMaster and Stone, "Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788"; W. R. Smith, "Sectionalism in Pennsylvania during the Revolution", in *Pol. Sci. Quarterly*, vol. 24; Dunaway, "History of Pennsylvania," pp. 225-230; Nevins, "American States during and after the Revolution," Chapter 7.

The original application for a charter for the college was made by ten Philadelphians, among them Rush, McKean and Peter Muhlenberg, in December, 1786. Four of Pennsylvania's eight representatives at the Constitutional Convention—Franklin, Robert Morris, Clymer, and Mifflin—were associated with the college. McKean was the acknowledged leader of the "Federalist" faction; Mifflin and Morris were staunch supporters. Frederick A. Muhlenberg and Peter Muhlenberg, both brothers of the first President of the College, were active in Pennsylvania politics.

The new government was favored in the eastern districts, but was opposed strongly by the western counties. "Anti-Federalists"²¹ even made an attempt during these months to have the state capitol moved from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, where the assembly would be influenced to a greater extent by the population of Dauphin, York, Berks and Lancaster counties, largely German.²² The Germans in the state, along with the Scotch-Irish counties, were suspicious of the Federalist movement in its early stages, fearing the possible restriction of their newly-won political independence.²³ If the German preachers and the German people of central Pennsylvania were anxious to begin a college, political leaders in Philadelphia could hardly be expected to treat the matter with indifference.

²¹ The terms "Federalist" and "Anti-Federalist" do not refer to political parties at this time, but to factions which developed during the contest for ratification of the constitution.

²² Cf. Nevins, "American States", p. 293.

²³ They gradually adopted the Federalist plan with more enthusiasm, until the "house tax" in 1799 brought about a brief but bitter rebellion, driving many of them towards the Jeffersonian party. The effect was similar in the case of the Scotch-Irish in the "Whiskey Rebellion" in 1794. See W. H. Davis, "Fries Rebellion," *passim*.

Three months after the dedication of the college, a major battle to secure approval of the new constitution was in full swing throughout the state. Pennsylvania was the second state to ratify it, but it was not an easy decision.

Commenting on a slightly later period, one writer stated, "Whenever an important issue was pending, both parties besought the aid of the Germans. A thoughtful Teuton remarked that for twenty years whenever all was quiet and no public schemes were on foot in which the votes, influence and contributions of the Germans could be of any serious service, they were 'ignorant Germans', but as soon as their number could be of use in promoting the political manoeuvres of man or party the newspapers were filled with flatteries 'too absurd', says our German critic, 'to be digested by any but fools.' " ²⁴

The interest of these Philadelphia trustees was by no means altogether a political one. They had supported the plan for a college before the constitutional contest had fully developed. The interest of Franklin and Rush in education is too well-known to question. Nevertheless, when Benjamin Rush stated, in referring to the faculty, that "a cluster of more learned or better qualified men had never met in any university," he might also have added that a cluster of more prominent Federalist leaders had never before or since shown so much interest in the welfare of the Germans. After contributions had been made to the new college, and the dedication had taken place, and the struggle for ratification of the Constitution had passed, the activity of these Phila-

²⁴ Bolles, A. S. "Pennsylvania", p. 111.

delphia sponsors, as far as the college was concerned, declined most rapidly. President Muhlenberg wrote to Rush in June 1787, asking for some of the promised financial aid from his Philadelphia associates. Eight months later, Rush answered his letter, without promising any help, but managing to add a few words in favor of the Federalist party and the relation of the Germans to it. It was a very diplomatic letter:

February 15, 1788

"I was much mortified in finding that a letter from you dated in June 1787 by some strange fatality did not reach me until the 4th of this month . . . I lament the languor that has infested our trustees in this city. I have tried in vain to bring about a meeting in order to collect our certificates, and draw an interest on them. The present turbulent era is unfavorable to all peaceable enterprises. Nothing now fills the mind but subjects that agitate the passions. Let us not despair. As soon as our new government is established, the public spirit of our country will be forced to feed upon undertakings that have science or humanity for their subjects."

Dr. Rush then injected an interesting combination of political and spiritual advice. "The conduct of the minority of our convention and of a majority of my old friends beyond the Susquehannah, determine me more than ever to look up to my German brethren (indulge the term) as the future reservoirs and vehicles to posterity, of a great part of the knowledge, virtue and religion of Pennsylvania. I rejoice in the part a great majority of them have taken in the great contest about the Federal Constitution. On them I rely chiefly to outvote, to out-

work and to outpray the anti-Federalists in our state. I hope you do not neglect to fill your gazette with federal storys, anecdotes, and intelligence. Hall and Sellers paper is filled every week with them all. Newspapers form the principles, and direct the conduct of the greatest part of mankind in all countries.

"There is no doubt now of the adoption of the new government by nine states before the 1st of June and by twelve before the 1st of August" ²⁵

The main conclusion which can be drawn concerning this second group—the trustees from Philadelphia interested in state and national politics—is that it was unfortunate for Franklin College that their personal interest and their financial assistance did not continue through the next decade to the same extent which was evidenced during the spring of 1787. Hubley wrote to Dr. Rush in October 1788, "Unless you gentlemen in Philadelphia will put your shoulders to the wheel, we must inevitably perish." ²⁶ The college did not perish, but neither did the Philadelphians provide much help.

The experience of Dickinson College during these same years offers an interesting parallel, particularly with regard to Benjamin Rush.²⁷ Rush took up the plan for the establishment of Dickinson College with enthusiasm, and secured subscriptions from Philadelphia friends for its endowment. He conducted a vigorous and optimistic correspondence, recommended the appointment of two Germans to the board of trustees, and took a much more active

²⁵ Frankliniana Collection.

²⁶ Dubbs, "History of Franklin and Marshall College," p. 83.

²⁷ See Morgan, J. H. "Dickinson College 1783-1933" pp. 7-52 passim.

interest than John Dickinson, for whom the college was named. He provided the necessary inspiration and vision, but he was not always consistent in his policies, and often offended friends by abrupt, almost temperamental changes of mind. Rush's early interest in the German population of Pennsylvania was shown in a letter of 1785, in which he refers to "the mistaken zeal of the Germans in government." He wrote, "I hope we shall not lose sight of a German teacher in our college. The Germans now comprise nearly one third of the inhabitants of other nations. It is painful to take notice of the extreme ignorance which they disclose in their various suits in law, in their attachment to quacks in physic, and in their violent and mistaken zeal in government. The influence of our College if properly directed might reform them and show them that men should live for other purposes than simply to cultivate the earth and to accumulate specie. The temperate manner of living of the Germans would make them excellent subjects for literature, and their industry and frugality, if connected with knowledge, would make them equally good subjects to quiet and legal government."²⁸

In 1788, Rush wrote a letter to Dickinson College which is remarkably similar to the letter which he wrote to Muhlenberg at Franklin College about the same time.²⁹ "Let us not be discouraged by the present low state of our funds and the declining number of our pupils. Is there anything or anybody in America that is now in a prosperous situation. Colleges, schools, churches, all languish

²⁸ Morgan *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁹ See page 48.

beneath the present disturbed state of our public affairs; and farmers, merchants, tradesmen, lawyers, doctors and ministers are all full of complaints. . . . Let us imitate the German economy in settling a farm by building a barn before a dwelling house. Let our funds be our barn, out of which, if they are managed properly, a college and houses of all kinds will grow in the course of a few years." ³⁰

The third group, representing the pastors of various congregations, could not have been expected to contribute much financial assistance. They added their interest and their efforts in keeping alive the ideals which the college was founded to achieve. This group included Reformed and Lutheran pastors from Lancaster, Philadelphia, Reading, Hanover, Germantown and other sections. The Rev. John B. Cousie, Roman Catholic priest in Lancaster, Rev. Joseph Hutchins, Episcopalian, and Rev. John Herbst, Moravian pastor, represented other denominations. The continuous efforts of various pastors in the Reformed and Lutheran Synods to aid the college are discussed in a separate chapter. ³¹

The Charter of the new college, granted on March 10th, 1787, was based on the general plan which the petitioners had presented. ³²

³⁰ Morgan, *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

³¹ See Chapter Six.

³² "A number of gentlemen of this commonwealth having taken into consideration the necessity and advantage of diffusing literature among their fellow-citizens, have come to a determination to establish a German college and Charity School in the borough of Lancaster. They have been led to make choice of this place from its central and healthy situation, the character of its inhabitants, the conveniences with which students of every description may be accommodated with board and lodgings, and the probability that the necessary buildings may be immediately procured, and at a moderate expense.

"The design of this institution is to promote an accurate knowledge of the German and English languages, also of the learned languages, of mathematics, morals, and natural philosophy, divinity, and all such other branches of literature as will tend to make good men and useful citizens." Petition to Penna. Legislature, December 11, 1786.

It provided that "ten thousand acres of land, together with a six percentum allowance, set out and surveyed within the unappropriated lands of this State, be and they are hereby granted to the said Trustees of 'Franklin College' in the borough and county of Lancaster, to have and to hold . . ."

This gift of land, lying in Venango, Tioga, Lycoming and Bradford counties, was not considered to be an unusually liberal gift on the part of the State Legislature, since it consisted of an apparently unprofitable wilderness. The gift was of importance in the later history of the college, however, because it meant that the Trustees were in charge of a considerable amount of property, and most of the business of the board throughout this transition period was concerned with details of land sales, and surveys. The Legislature also vested "the public store House and two lots of ground in the borough and county of Lancaster, in the Trustees of Franklin College for the use of said institution."³³ This was used as the college building shortly after it was donated.³⁴

Franklin College started most successfully with an enrollment of more than one hundred male and female students.³⁵ Most of them were from the immediate vicinity of Lancaster. Classes began on July 18th, in a small stone building near the Lutheran church, known as the "Brew House". This was too small, and classes were moved to the Lutheran and Reformed church school rooms, and

³³ February 27, 1788.

³⁴ On North Queen Street near James St.

³⁵ Enrollment record of 1787 in Franklin College Mss.

shortly thereafter to the newly donated "Store House."

Two problems developed immediately, within the first year. The German department of the new school was very poorly attended. The large proportion of students were registered in the English department, which was not what the founders of the institution had expected. German sectarian groups in particular were not in favor of higher education, and even ridiculed the idea of making the child wiser than the parents.

The second problem was more serious. Funds, chiefly from subscriptions, did not come to the institution as rapidly as early enthusiasm had intimated. Benjamin Franklin had contributed two hundred pounds in cash, and a number of his associates had given smaller amounts, but many pledges were difficult to collect. An interesting memorandum from one of the trustees, who was trying to collect a one-third payment on the subscriptions during the first year of the school's operation, states that out of eight subscribers whom he contacted, seven declined for various reasons to make the payment. The responses were familiar ones—"could not spare the money", another "agreed to pay but did not comply", another "gave no satisfactory answer", and so forth.³⁶ Collecting the necessary funds to pay the faculty became an immediate and pressing problem. In 1788, Dr. Melsheimer explained the condition of the college in a newspaper article as follows:

"There are at present three teachers in the school who give instruction in the German, English and

³⁶ Memo of Zantzinger to Hubley 1787. Franklin College Mss.

Latin languages, as well as in mathematics and composition. The number of scholars is one hundred and five, and of these there are twenty who are to be trained in the higher branches of science. From the beginning we have sought to remove obstacles that might interfere with the prosperity of the institution and the cost of tuition has therefore been made as low as possible. What German who is in good circumstances can object to paying for his children annually 20 shillings for German, 50 shillings for both German and English, or 4 pounds for all the branches taught in the course. Or who can regard the price of board, which varies from 25 to 14 pounds as too high?" Commenting on the fact that out of the four hundred and fifty pounds required to pay the professors' salaries, only one hundred and ten pounds had been collected, he continued, "from these data every one can easily answer the above questions. If the Germans of this country learn to love the arts and sciences; if their love for their country and for posterity induces them to increase the endowment by their contributions, so that a part of the expenses may thus be met, the College in Lancaster will soon be among the most prosperous institutions in Pennsylvania; if this should not happen,—But how could it be possible that our people should sink to such a depth of degradation? Should we not deserve to be represented as mean and contemptible, standing like nude statues before the world, with nothing to cover us, unless it should be our ancient honesty. No, my friends! Let us show the whole world that the Germans of Pennsylvania not only have hands to labor, but

The following Gentlemen have paid their Subscriptions
towards Franklin College in Lancaster

His Excellency Maj. Gen. Franklin Esq. Cash paid £200. —

Robert Morris Esq. being old Continental
Loan Office Certificates in favour of John
McMichin, who not being a Resident in this
State cannot be changed by the Comptroller.
The ams. £600 L. which have drawn a Int.
on France for some Years —

Hon. Peter Muhlenberg Esq. in Certif. £50

Charles Biddle Esq. D^o 18. 17

Wm. Rawle Esq. D^o 37. 10

George Fox Esq. D^o 37. 11. 11¹/₂

Frederick Kuhl D^o 50. 5. 3

Robt. Fraile Esq. Paper Money 3. —

Samuel Dean Esq. Ditto 3. —

John Smilie Esq. Ditto 3. —

John Beard Esq. Ditto 3. —

James Redick Esq. Ditto 3. —

John Arnold Esq. Ditto 4. 10. —

Henry Hill Esq. a Certificate 37. 10. —

Intrest reciev^d on some of the Certificates. £ 6. 19. 3

£226. 9. 3

Paid at several Times Order: 91. — 11

Remains in my Hands a Balance of £135. 8. 4

Frederick Kuhl

Original List of Subscribers to Franklin College,
headed by Benjamin Franklin.

heads to acquire all learning as soon as they have the opportunity of developing their talents." ³⁷

However, by the end of the first year it was apparent that the professors could not be paid. Professor Hutchins resigned in June, 1788, stating in a public advertisement that he "would be exceedingly obliged to those who are indebted to him for the schooling of their Children, to pay him in the course of the present month." ³⁸ The following year, Dr. Melsheimer found himself forced to resign, because of financial difficulties. This was a more serious blow to the institution. ³⁹ He wrote, "I take the liberty of informing you that my personal circumstances make it necessary for me to resign my position as teacher in Franklin College. Since the present state of my affairs is too well known to me, no other choice remains to me, no matter how much it goes against my inclination. Your honor will also be aware that since the second year, I have received from your orders nothing at all in payment, and also that my salary amounts to 150 pounds. My creditors will press me for payment on my part before I leave Lancaster; and so I beg your honor to lay my humble plea before the board, for the payment of this debt. For it would be a great dis-

³⁷ Neue Unparteyische Lancaster Zeitung, Feb. 27, 1788.

³⁸ Dubbs, "History of Franklin and Marshall College," p. 66.

³⁹ Melsheimer was an outstanding American scientist. He was born in the Duchy of Brunswick, Germany, in 1749, and educated at the University of Helmstadt. He came to Quebec as chaplain of a Brunswick regiment of dragoons in 1776, and then went to Pennsylvania, where he was ordained as a Lutheran pastor. He lived in Lancaster county for several years, preaching at Manheim and New Holland. After resigning from Franklin College he went to Hanover, Pennsylvania as pastor of the Lutheran church there.

His writing on the "Insects of Pennsylvania" was the first entomological work of its type published in America. He also wrote an "American Entomology", and has been called the father of American entomology.

advantage to my family if I were forced on this account to remain longer in Lancaster . . . ” ⁴⁰

The college had equal difficulty in collecting its own accounts. For several weeks the following advertisement appeared in the local newspaper :

FRANKLIN COLLEGE

“Notice is hereby given to those persons who are indebted to Franklin College for Tuition money that they are again most earnestly requested forthwith to discharge their respective balances, due to the College, to Mr. Jacob Krug, Treasurer. And that all accounts which remain undischarged on the first day of May next, will be delivered into the hands of a Justice, to enforce payment agreeable to law.” ⁴¹

The church fathers in Holland had little sympathy for the early troubles of Franklin College. In 1792, the Deputies “took the liberty of reminding the Committee on Pennsylvania affairs as to the erection of that High School, that this was not an institution of the church authorities in those regions, and thus the professors were not paid out of the income of the church, but that this High School was established by the State’s legislature of that country, and that the same had granted a parcel of land from whose proceeds the professors were to have their subsistence. Hence the deputies do not understand how the school had to fail on account of the non-payment of the professors, for which reasons the Deputies desire further information, how to reconcile one thing with the other; although they were otherwise not much pleased with the founding of

⁴⁰ May 26, 1789. Franklin College Mss.

⁴¹ Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung. April 20, 1791.

the aforesaid institute, as little as the committee and the synods of North and South Holland, who had always disapproved of the erection thereof, and long held back as is evidenced by their acts.”⁴²

Franklin College had begun with much enthusiasm and little money. It soon became evident that it could not continue along the lines which had been originally planned. The German department was discontinued after the resignation of Dr. Melsheimer, and this was a source of great disappointment to those chiefly interested in its relation with the German people.

Since professors could not be employed on regularly paid salaries, the board of trustees seems to have placed the work of the college in the charge of various teachers, who received their funds from student's tuition fees. Pastor Muhlenberg continued as principal of the school, and new teachers were advertised for and employed. The Board of Trustees continued to meet, discussing negotiations relative to the college lands, and making efforts to collect funds for the endowment.

Before leaving this early stage of Franklin College history, it is of interest to notice a few descriptive comments. One is an account of an early “commencement” in 1788, which gives a detailed picture of the type of work carried out during the first years of the college.

“The exercises commenced at 9 o'clock A. M. October 17th and continued until 1 P. M. Dr. Muhlenberg opened with prayer. Immediately afterward two young orators invoked the interest and attention of the audience and recommended the

⁴² March 17, 1791. Copy by James I. Good in Franklin College Mss.

institution to their favor. This was done for the German students by Henry Muhlenberg, of Philadelphia, and for the English by Samuel Bethel." The German class and the English class were then examined, with an oration from each group. "This exercise was followed by two orations—one in English, by Edward Hubley, and another in German by Abraham Hendel—on the theme, 'How literary institutions may best be established.' Then the German students were examined in history and geography, particularly in those of the United States. You know how important this subject is, and you will approve of the fact that an hour daily is devoted to it in the college. The ready answers showed that it was a subject of interest." This was followed by examinations in English grammar, and by two Latin orations. "After these examinations, there were exercises in declamation. Barton Zant-zinger and Henry Schlauch recited English verses, and the exercises concluded with two pleasantly written dialogues. The subject of the first was, 'The Advantages of Education for Mechanics.' George Schaffner and George Hendel spoke on this subject, to the great satisfaction of the audience. The second dialogue treated the question, 'Why do so few Germans give their children a good education?' This dialogue was spoken by Frederick Muhlenberg of Philadelphia, Jacob Miller and George Frick, and this concluded the examination. The attendance of the audience, and their pleased expression of countenance, were certain signs of their real satisfaction, and I feel sure that the college will receive their future support." ⁴³

⁴³ Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung, Nov. 5, 1788.

From this picture of the college, as it was seen by the general public, we turn to a brief but interesting comment on the college as it was seen through the eyes of a student. Peter Rhoads, Jr., wrote a number of letters to his father during these early years. The following letter might have been written by any college student to his father during any generation. (Characteristically enough, his first request was for money to use for textbooks!)

“Dear Father:

“Your favor of the 13th last I received on the 28th . . . Gibson’s surveying is not immediately necessary, but it would greatly assist me. In this you may please yourself, and I am satisfied. I will wait this week longer for instruments, and if I don’t get any this week from you, I will buy at Poultney’s next week.

“On the 5th they had court here, but as it was very cold, they held the court in the tavern, but I did not go to hear the lawyers.

“I can measure a distance from one place to another, although I can’t come to one of them We are past the species of decimal fractions, and cube and square root. I am in Prima class, and this day Mr. Melsheimer said to the Latin scholars, ‘Der Rhod is nach nieh long kommen und er weisz seine sache noch immer am besten.’

“I don’t write this, dear Father, to say that I can do better Latin or as good as the others, but only that you may know that I am none of the badest I think that I will learn Latin as soon as those that were five months before me.

“If I come home next Easter, you will, I think, tell me whether you really think that it was good for

me to study law, or whether I shall learn some other thing. I will just do herein how you think best. I will, with the help of God, learn, that the money you have advanced me shall not be lost.

“I am and remain, dear father,
 “Your affectionate son,
 Peter Rhoads, Jr.” ⁴⁴

There is another comment upon the condition of early Franklin College which comes from its President, Dr. Muhlenberg, who jotted down in his personal diary some ideas and suggestions of his own, after the institution had been in existence for a few years.

“What is to be the fate of our College?

“1. Thus far there are no funds at hand to accomplish anything; but ought not the scholars themselves to furnish some revenue if the school is properly conducted? How do those of our teachers support themselves who receive no public stipend?

“2. Instruction should not merely consist in teaching languages, but should include:

1. Christianity—a thorough and complete knowledge of the subject. Here is a difficulty; the denominational differences.

2. History, Geography, Mathematics and Natural Sciences.

3. Ordinary reading, writing and ciphering should be a requirement. Writing letters.

“3. Pastors might spare us two hours each day, every forenoon. I formerly did so.

Catalogus

Librerie magnam partem latinorum, Collegio
Frankliniano quod Lancastriae est, dono daturum.

I. Folio.

1. Manuscript Records of the Transactions & the Accounts
of the Federal Society for supporting a School in Lan-
caster, 1791.
2. Frankii Chronologia fundamentalis. Göttingae 1778.
3. Universus terrarum Orbis. Patavii, 1773.
4. Homeri Opera, Basilea, 1541.

II. Quarto.

1. Horatius Flaccus, editio Bentleji, Amsteladami, Weidenio, 1728.
2. Graeca Scholia in Homeri Iliad. I. Auct. Bongiovanno. Vene-
tius, 1740.
3. Vetus Romana Historia, seu Supplementum Livianorum
Libri 60, a Freinsheimio. Argentorati 1674.
4. Münchhausen de Originibus Romanorum, Göttingae 1744.
5. Ravini Antiquitates Romanae, 1649.
6. Dissertationes Homericae, a Rüdico, Florentiae, 1740.
7. Lacerum Commentarius in Militem gloriosum Plauti.
Vnetis 1742.
8. Plauti Comediarum Comment. Traubmanni. 1627.
9. Vossius de Poetis graecis and latinis. Amsteladami, 1662.
10. Vossius de Historicis latinis. Lugdun Bat. 1661.
11. Et Bellarmini Chronologia.
12. Eusebii Oratio de die dominica, Lipsiae, 1720.
13. Paschii Inventa. nov. antiquae, Lipsiae, 1750.
14. Weismanni Historia sacra. Novi Testamenti.
Hutegardiae, 1718.
15. Julius Caesar, cum notis variis Dec. Francofurti, 1706.
16. Simonetti Character eines Geschichtschreibers. Göttingen, 1746.
17. Pfeifferi Antiquitates graecae. Lipsiae, 1707.
18. Et aristoteles de Arte rhetorica. Helmstedt, 1672.
19. Maurocordati Voivodi-Libec de Officiis, Lipsiae, 1723.
20. Curtii Alexander Magnus, cum Freinsheimii Commentario
et Indice. Argentorati, 1670.
21. Jul. Pontederæ Antiquitatum latinarum & graecarum
Emendationes. Patavii, 1740.
22. Schultens Institutiones linguae hebraicae. Lugduni Batav.
1737.
23. Riccati, Cartesii Opera Philosophica. Amsteladami, 1672.
24. Raphael Fabretti Tabulae Iliacae, a Beyers edita. Berlini, 1599.
25. Vossii Libri tres de quatuor artibus popularibus, de Philologia,
& Scientiis Mathematicis. Amsteladami, 1650.
26. Vna Aristotelis, auctore Ambrasio. Helmstedt, 1666.

First page of catalog compiled by Prof. William
Reichenbach, listing rare books in the possession
of Franklin College.

"4. Might not contributions still be collected here and there in the country?

"5. An ordinary tutor might give instruction in reading and writing German, Arithmetic, Composition, Geography and History. Advanced scholars to receive instruction in languages in the forenoon for at least two hours.

"6. I prefer to teach Latin, Greek, Geography and History, Botany, Mineralogy, or Dogmatics. Where? In one of the rooms of the college or privately?

"7. An opportunity for the Germans is now at hand——will it ever appear again? Or is it necessary to lay so much stress on German? I think we ought to preserve our language for the sake of our religion. Ministers who preach German and English will in time be very necessary.

"8. Latin and Greek to be taught only to scholars of special talents and those who desire to become ministers. Others had better at once be admitted to an English class—doctrine, etc., to be taught separately.

"9. A tutor for the German language and literature for those who desire to study for the ministry. Salaries to be paid individually; pupils to be arranged according to religious denominations—two or three hours each day. 1 hour, reading; 1 composition; 1 mathematics; 1 geography and history....

"I do not think we can continue our German class (department) unless we instruct many or all of the pupils gratis. English scholars should always pay tuition..." ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Aug. 6, 1789. Transcription in Dubbs, "History of Franklin and Marshall College", pp. 96-97.

Muhlenberg also suggested that each denomination might raise contributions for its own beneficiaries, and that free tuition for all students was recommended as soon as possible. He concluded, "If the college should fail, what then? As long as there is any money left, it must not fail."

For the next few decades the history of Franklin College was not marked by much unusual progress. Muhlenberg continued in charge until his death in 1815. The small group of Lancaster trustees administered its affairs. New professors were employed from time to time, among them Prof. William Stewart, from the College of Glasgow, Scotland, who had been recommended by Benjamin Rush,⁴⁶ and Prof. James Ross, Professor of Ancient Languages, who was a prominent American scholar, and author of a Latin grammar in common use.

In 1807, a school was opened under the name of Franklin Academy, under the direction of Thomas Poole, Professor of Languages. It is significant that no German was included in its course of instruction, which included Latin, Greek, English and French, as well as History, Geography and Mathematics. Dr. Muhlenberg was one of its sponsors, but it was apparently not to take the place of Franklin College.

In 1809 Professor Benedict J. Schipper advertised that he would open an academy in Franklin College.⁴⁷ Schipper, who collaborated with Muhlenberg in the publication of a German-English and English-German dictionary, remained in charge of

⁴⁶ He taught from 1788 to 1791. See advertisements in *Lancaster Zeitung*, Dec. 22, 1790.

⁴⁷ Dubbs, "History of Franklin and Marshall College", p. 107.

most of the administration of the college building for a number of years, and taught Greek and Latin.

With the income from college lands, and occasional contributions from the churches, the college continued its precarious existence. In 1820 the Lutheran and Reformed Synods considered the possibility of using the school as a training center for their theological students but they could not agree to cooperate.

In 1827, an academy, known as the Lancaster County Academy, was founded and incorporated by some of the same men who were members of the Board of Trustees of Franklin College. This academy apparently was designed to serve as a preparatory classical school for the city of Lancaster until new arrangements could be made in connection with the college. The Academy began its work in a building of its own at Orange and Lime Streets, but was not particularly successful. In 1837, Franklin College, which had assets of about \$38,000 purchased the Academy building, and established itself on a solid footing.

Franklin College did not develop satisfactorily during this transition period. The German population did not support it sufficiently, and many of its most prominent trustees were drawn away by other interests. The faculty was self-supporting during the period, and the endowment grew, very gradually, from the income which the sale of lands produced. The church, as we have seen, was interested in its success, but powerless to secure funds when its own affairs were so uncertain. It was a static period, without much change until new plans were introduced.

However, it is definite that the German character of the institution, as planned in the beginning, was not to be realized by Franklin College. It was not until a new vitality was introduced in the eighteenth-thirties and forties, that the college began to acquire a distinctive character.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TRANSITION PERIOD IN GERMANY

Schlatter and Muhlenberg had come to America from the Europe of 1750, filled with missionary zeal and the determination to transplant European educational and spiritual ideals to the German settlements of Pennsylvania. By 1800 this Europe had changed.

England, Holland and Germany in previous years had been generous in their contributions of money and ministers, establishing a bond of sympathetic interest between the Old Country and the New World. By 1800, the New World was independent of the Old Country, not only in its political relationship, but in its religious organizations as well. The American congregations could no longer rely upon paternal sympathy from Europe to any great extent. Their future was in their own hands.

The universities of Germany could no longer advocate educational and spiritual missionary work in foreign lands as the most desirable type of work which the student could undertake. After the passing of Frederick the Great, and the arrival of Napoleon, German students occupied themselves, as rationalists, with the problems of Germany, rather than as pietists with the problems of humanity in distant lands.

There is a definite break in the relationship between Europe and America, so far as interest in

churches and schools is concerned, which begins about 1787 and ends about 1830. This is a period of transition, from which there emerges a new Germany with a new philosophy, a new church with a new educational policy in America, a new type of Pennsylvania German who was no longer a stranger in a foreign country, but an American in his native land; and a new type of college, not only to train students as German ministers, but to educate young men as cultured and intelligent citizens.

In Europe, and particularly in Germany, one of the most important changes was the transition in philosophy, from rationalism to romanticism, or "German Idealism". The age of rationalism, in the eighteenth century, swept away the last vestiges of the pietistic movement, and substituted in its stead a materialistic, scientific, intellectual independence. The progress of this revolutionary philosophy from 1750 to 1800 was very definite, and was fatal to tradition and dogma of every sort. The transition in philosophy begins with the sensational spread of John Locke's worship of reason, and developed every conceivable type of intellectual liberalism until the latter days of Immanuel Kant.

The introduction of these new philosophies in Europe had a definite connection with American cultural development, because of the close relationship which had previously existed with the mother countries. Pennsylvania preachers in German congregations were almost exclusively from German universities, as we have seen. The German schools were usually in charge of these German preachers. But the age of Spener and Francke had passed, and in its place there existed stimulating experiments

with rationalism which produced an entirely different point of view in the European universities.

"The same land which produced the faith of the Reformation," wrote Schaff, ¹ "gave rise to the most subtle and dangerous forms of unbelief and Anti-Christianity . . . A rationalism which emptied Christianity of all its supernatural contents, and retained from it only the truths of natural religion, took in a short time possession of the theological faculties, the pulpits, the consistories, the educational institutions and the thrones of princes. It altered or removed the orthodox textbooks from colleges and schools, and even the venerable hymns and liturgies which breathed the piety of the pentecostal days of Protestantism, were exchanged for the watery and prosy productions of sentimentalism."

The rationalism which in England and France was devoted chiefly to the destruction of the old economic and political order, in Germany was directed against the religious philosophy of the old order. Gottfried Leibnitz (1646-1716), Christian Thomasiaus (1655-1782) and Christian Wolff (1679-1754) were chiefly responsible for its initial development. The contrast of their ideas with those of the previous period is significantly shown by the fact that Wolff was dismissed from the University of Halle largely through the efforts of the pietists Lange and Francke.² The results of the teaching and writings of these men made important changes in the older pietism. They laid the foundation for the "Wissenschaft" of later Germany, but they also

¹ Schaff, Philip, "Germany", p. 146 et seq.

² Thilly, "History of Philosophy" p. 382; Schaff-Herzog, "Encyclopedia" v. 4, p. 2546.

disrupted the traditional relationship between philosophy and theology. To conservative elements in Germany and to the emigrants who had left Germany in the days before rationalism had fully developed, their ideas were radical and revolutionary.

The theological chairs in German universities had been occupied by a pious and evangelical group; the rationalistic theology superseded them, and for a brief period the simple faith of the Reformation was lost in a tumult of metaphysical hair-splitting. The theological condition of Germany during the early years of this transition period was pessimistically described by a contemporary as appalling. "Never before did evangelical religion suffer an assault from such combined and exalted talent, and such profound learning, as to all objects of human science. Nearly every university and gymnasium in Germany has been won by this party; and almost all the important, and nearly all the popular publications, have been in their hands, these thirty years or more . . . All the reviews were in the hands of the Naturalists and Neologists. Did any evangelical writer publish a book, if it were very able, it was passed by in silence; if it were liable to attack, it was hunted down at once. The victory seemed to be completely won; and the principles of Luther to be almost eradicated from his country . . . But during the time of the greatest apparent triumph of Naturalism in Germany, there was never a season, in which there were not some, in every province, and in almost every town, who mourned over the fall of the Reformation doctrines. Here and there a solitary Professor in a university; here and there

a pastor in the humble villages and parishes, was to be found, who wanted nothing but sympathy and a few rays of hope or encouragement, to draw him out and make him bold, in the same cause which Luther pleaded . . . But their voice was drowned amid the din of the exulting multitudes, goaded on by powerful and energetic and learned leaders, and encouraged by princes and potentates.”³

The universities were the center of this controversy between the advocates of faith and the advocates of reason. The common people, however, were not deeply touched by these doctrines, and retained their traditional piety, their faith in the Bible, their hymns, their devotional practises of the seventeenth century. The rationalistic movement in Germany changed the Old World universities; but it did not affect the German population of Pennsylvania to any great extent, because missionary work in America was no longer an important function of the German universities.

Other events changed the Old World more dramatically than the rise of rationalistic theology. Soon after Franklin College was founded in Pennsylvania, political and economic revolution was spreading fast over Europe. The French Revolution and the rise of the Napoleonic Empire had changed the point of view of every nation on the continent, and the institutions of Germany emerged from this period in very different form.

From the time of the battle of Jena in 1806, when the disastrous defeat of Prussia brought the changed state of world affairs into alarming prominence, the outlook of many German groups became

³ Magazine of the German Reformed Church, Oct. 1828, p. 359 et seq.

different. The first phase of the period was characterized by a spirit of depression, as the weaknesses of the organization which Frederick the Great had created became apparent. It could present no organized defense, either political, military or philosophical. The close of the Napoleonic era found in Germany a group of weakened states, dominated by the reactionary absolutism of the Metternich system, and unrecognizable as a national unit. Germany faced a period of reconstruction. "We observe what is characteristic of German conditions throughout the nineteenth century," wrote Walz,⁴ "and what is perhaps unique in German history—the lack of certain political rights and liberties combined with the greatest intellectual and spiritual freedom and progress. It was this lack of political liberty which for many Americans formed the strongest argument against the adoption of Prussian methods and ideas of education."

Reconstruction brought "German Idealism" and the romanticist movement. The rationalists could explain the collapse of Germany; the romanticists could picture the Germany of the future which would arise. Among the young German students, there developed a contempt for Napoleon, for the weakness of the German princes, for the trickery of the diplomats, for the cold philosophy of the older period. The rationalists had based their hopes on the individual; it was the day of the worship of reason and the rights of man. But they had failed in Germany, and in their place, there arose a warm and courageous enthusiasm for faith

⁴ Walz, J. A. "German Influence in American Education and Culture," p. 14.

in the idea. The theory of a "New Germany" began to supplant the pessimistic logic of natural laws.

This movement affected every phase of intellectual life. In literature, art, history, religion and philosophy, the spirit of Hegel, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Herder, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and others was to supplant the drab stolidity of an earlier generation.

So far as the universities were concerned, the chief development of this new period was the rise of the "Burschenschaft" movement, which illustrated the effect of the idealistic philosophy upon the German student, and which was definitely related to subsequent contacts with America.

The "Burschenschaft" began at the University of Jena, home of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schiller. Liberal thought, such as still existed in post-war Germany, was to be found chiefly in the universities, where young students whose political idealism had been rudely shattered by the disastrous national humiliation, returned to build new foundations for the future Germany.

The "Burschenschaft", organized in 1816, was a voluntary project of young students to stimulate the patriotism which had been awakened by the recent war for independence. Their plans and purposes were vague and general, but the movement thrived steadily for a brief period, chiefly because unwise attempts were made by the government to suppress it.

The climax of this liberal agitation was reached in the Wartburg Festival of 1817, when several hundred students, many of whom had fought in previous battles for the independence of Germany,

gathered with some of their professors to celebrate the third centennial of Martin Luther's reform movement, and the recent liberation of Germany from French control. The fundamental principles they proclaimed had to do chiefly with nationalism and the desire for German unification, but the trend toward democratic principles was very evident. They hinted at and denounced injustice from the princes, claimed additional privileges for the electorate, opposed hereditary servitude, disapproved of the use of titles, (such as "Edelgeboren," or "Wohlgeboren") and declared that injustice was not to be endured without making use of the lawful means which were available for protection.

After 1819, when a misguided and over-enthusiastic student murdered Kotzebue, a Manheim writer, official condemnation of the "Burschenschaft" removed it from public activity. The Carlsbad Decrees in that year suppressed liberal activity, and many of the student leaders were sent to prison. The movement continued under cover, however, and even flourished—not so much in numbers as in earnest enthusiasm—and it reappeared in the 1830's and 1840's. Political meetings were forbidden, but various activities, such as the "Turn-fests", and "Saengerfests" aided in the exchange of student ideas.

These two trends—the rise of a new philosophy, and the growth of a new liberalism in the German universities, are significant developments in the cultural progress of nineteenth century Germany. They have one important, definite relationship to the history of Franklin and Marshall College. A product of both influences—the new school of

philosophy and the determined liberalism of the new German university—in the person of a young man named Frederick Augustus Rauch,—was to lead the college to a permanent and distinctive place in the educational life of nineteenth century America.

Dr. Rauch represented the new philosophy of Germany at its best. Hegel was the outstanding leader of the new German school, and one of Hegel's most eager students was Charles Daub. Daub became professor of Philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, and was soon recognized as the most brilliant exponent of Hegel's school of thought. The student who was fortunate enough to carry out his study of philosophy at Heidelberg under Charles Daub would receive the new idealism of Germany from one of its best teachers. ⁵

One of Daub's students at Heidelberg was this young man named Rauch. He was unusually brilliant, and became a close friend of this distinguished teacher. Rauch was a clergyman's son, born in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1806—the year in which the defeat of Prussia at Jena marked the beginning of a changing Germany. When he was twenty-one years old, he received his doctor's degree, *summa cum laude*, from the University of Marburg. He then continued his studies at the University of Giessen and at the University of Heidelberg. When he was only twenty-four, he was appointed "extra-ordinary

⁵ The rapid development of philosophy in Germany at this time is indicated by the repeated changes in Daub's philosophy. His writings showed that he followed Kraut in 1801; Fichte in 1805, Schelling in 1806, and Hegel in 1816, whom he adopted permanently.

Schaff-Herzog. Vol. 1, p. 610. Rosenkranz-Erinnerungen on Daub, Berlin 1837.

professor" ⁶ at Giessen. It is even more significant that after one year, Dr. Rauch was appointed as ordinary professor of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, an unusual distinction for a young man of twenty-five.⁷

Here his previous acquaintance with Professor Daub grew into a deep and close association. They became close friends, and the ideas, lectures, interpretations, convictions—even the notes—which Daub had developed through his study with Hegel, in turn were transmitted to young Dr. Rauch. Imbued with Hegel, Schelling, Fichte and Schleiermacher, and blessed with a natural capacity for intellectual leadership, Rauch was soon recognized as one of the outstanding leaders of the new German school of thought.

Frederick Augustus Rauch came to America as a direct result of the reactionary movement which permeated Germany in 1830. He had no sooner been appointed to his prominent position at Heidelberg than he became involved in difficulties. Young, liberal and sympathetic, he opposed publicly the imprisonment of certain German patriots who had advocated what were considered treasonable sentiments.⁸ Warned by friends that he was in danger of imprisonment himself, he is said to have left his position hurriedly, without even the opportunity of bidding his friends farewell. On the 30th

⁶ This term refers to a position in which the teacher is considered somewhat as a candidate for the regular, or "ordinary" professorship. His appointment depends in large part on his merits.

⁷ The most valuable account of Rauch's life is by J. W. Nevin, who knew him personally, in his "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Frederick A. Rauch," Chambersburg, 1841.

⁸ Nevin J. W., in *Reformed Church Messenger* May 5, 1841; Schiedt, B. C., *Mercersburg Academy Alumni Quarterly*, July 1911.

K U R H E S S E N,

von Gottes Gnaden Großherzog von
 Hessen und bei Rhein ꝛc.

N. 689.

Reise-Paß.

Gültig für *Frankfurt*.

Signalament.

Alter 25 Jahre

Größe 6 Schuh

3 Zoll 1 Strich

Haare *braun*.

Stirn *hell*.

Augenbraunen *braun*.

Augen *hell*.

Nase *hell*.

Mund *gerade*.

Bart *braun*.

Kinn *hell*.

Gefäße *hell*.

Gefächtsfarbe *gerade*.

Besondere Zeichen

0

Unterschrift des

Reisenden

Dr. F. Rauch

aus

Frankfurt.

Wir ersuchen hiermit, unter dem Versprechen einer vollkommenen Reciprocität, alle Civil- und Militär-Behörden ansehnlicher Staaten, Unsere sämtlichen Civil- und Militär-Behörden aber befehlen Wir ansehnlich, auf Verzeigung dieses

Namen: *Friedrich Rauch,*

Stand: *Doctor philosophiae,*

Gebürtig von *Frankfurt*,
 Wohnhaft in *Frankfurt*.

ausgehen und kommen
will

überall sicher und ungehindert pass- und repassiren zu lassen, auch den etwa bedürftigen Schutz und Bestand zu gewähren. Zu dessen Urkund haben Wir gegenwärtigen Paß durch Unsere Regierung dahier vollziehen und deren Siegel beidrücken lassen. Gegeben den 27. von *July* 1831. und dreißig

Aus höchstem Auftrag

Großherzoglich Hessische Regierung das.

W. Froelich

Passport of Dr. Rauch, used in his flight from
 Germany in 1831.

of September, 1831, he sailed from Bremen on the *Juno*,⁹ bound for New York, leaving a brilliant career behind him, and facing a most uncertain future as a refugee.

It is hard to imagine a combination of circumstances uniting to provide a better example of the two forces which were changing Europe—the new philosophy of idealism, and the rise of liberal thought in the universities. Here was an intellectual genius, filled with the inspiration of Europe's newest school of thought, exiled from his position and a promising career because of his sympathy with democratic ideals. Such was the European background of Dr. Rauch, who was to become the first president of a new American college within a few years after his arrival in this country. It was to be expected that a college under such leadership would occupy an unusual position in American educational development, and Marshall College under Dr. Rauch fulfilled this expectation.

⁹ The Rauch passport is preserved in the Marshall College *Mss.*

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GERMAN POPULATION OF PENNSYLVANIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

In American history, the period from 1787 to 1830 was marked by many significant developments. It was an era of troubled relationships with Europe, involving wars, diplomatic disputes and unsatisfactory commercial negotiations. It was a period of adolescence in American political life,¹ with many new alignments of the voting population. It was a period of territorial growth, which constantly introduced new pioneer elements into American life. It was an era in which democratic ideals gradually but permanently found their way into the life of the nation. The period was marked by new experiments in science, transportation, education and industry; by high hopes and enthusiastic plans in connection with scores of cultural projects and social reforms. It was a period of transition, which began in the courtly, dignified eighteenth-century atmosphere of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington and ended in the bustling, active, headstrong times of Andrew Jackson and Thaddeus Stevens.

"The civilization of the United States has been formed by the interplay of four great forces," writes Wertenbaker, "—the transit of European civilization to North America, the effect of Ameri-

¹ (No definite date can be set for the arrival of political maturity!)

can conditions upon those civilizations, the continued intercourse of America with Europe, and the mingling of racial, religious and regional groups, the so-called melting pot.”²

The arrival of German groups in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century illustrates the first of these forces—the transit of European civilizations to North America. The influence of the second force—the effect of American conditions upon this group—is most noticeable during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The position and the point of view of the German elements in Pennsylvania changed greatly between 1787 and 1830. There were, of course, certain general characteristics usually attributed to this group which did not change; piety, thrift and industry remained as distinctive traits for many generations. But their relationship to the new America changed, as the fusion of two civilizations gradually took place. A greater participation in the political, civic, educational and religious life of America is distinctly noticeable, as the new nationalism made itself apparent.

However, this was not a period of rapid or outstanding progress for the Germans. Schaff, who was closely in touch with the German situation, described this era as follows:

“This period—1787-1820—is the time of the rule of the Pennsylvania-German, with all its good and evil characteristics. It is not an easy matter to characterize it correctly; it presents in general the Palatinate conditions of the first half of the eigh-

² The Founding of American Civilization—“The Middle Colonies,” p. 10.

teenth century in rigid form, but with many English mixtures in language and customs. For in spite of the tenacity of these worthy people who are called Pennsylvania-Germans, even though many of them are found in other states, and in spite of their antagonism to foreign elements, this could not prevent intercourse with the Yankees, whose shrewdness and practical skill and many achievements, especially in industry, influenced them greatly in forming a distinctive German dialect, and developing in them an amphibious nature which became rather ridiculous to a cultured German. A development of the speech out of its own inner spirit did not characterize this dialect. In many cases it was simply a crude translation of the English . . . We must assert that this second period of the German church, in linguistic, in intellectual and in religious aspects, was a time of decline and semi-barbarism. This was to be expected according to the whole history of colonization. When a people finds itself planted in a new country, the tilling of the soil, care for bodily sustenance, receives first consideration and this naturally develops a materialistic tendency. The culture which the first generation brought with it, when it is separated from the maternal source which produced it, and in which it grew, cannot be transplanted or imposed upon the second generation." ³

The distinctive factors of particular importance in connection with the spiritual and educational viewpoint of the Germans in Pennsylvania were: the cessation of emigration from Germany; the gradual adoption of the English language; the mainte-

* Kirchenfreund, v. 1, 1848.

nance of certain cultural traditions, such as interest in books, libraries and literature; the growth of two factions within the German population—a conservative, old-country group and a modern progressive group; and the continuous activity of the German church, in connection with schools, seminaries and missionary work.

The decline of German emigration between 1787 and 1830 presented a sharp contrast to conditions which had existed just before the Revolutionary war. German emigration to this country practically ceased during the transition period. It was not to be resumed until the end of the era, and not until the late 1830's and 1840's did it resemble in numbers anything like the previous mass movement of Germans who had come to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. European wars and blockades resulted in a marked decrease of emigration, and when it was resumed, about 1817, a comparatively unimportant number of German and Swiss emigrants arrived.⁴ Not until nationalistic problems in Germany developed, a decade or so later, did any significant emigration take place from that country to America.

The cessation of this stream of foreign elements for at least a generation helped to separate the Pennsylvania German population from close kinship with their Fatherland, and to establish them more firmly as part of the confused American scene. "During the colonial period the continuing tide of newcomers kept fresh the memories of the homeland, introduced new ideas, new styles, but with the

⁴ Report of Commissioner of Education, 1901, p. 547; Cf. Dunaway p. 602.

drying up of migration, the Pennsylvania German was left almost entirely to the moulding influences of the New World.”⁵ There is much more sympathetic interest in the affairs of their homeland during 1840 and 1850 than was evident at any time during this transition period. To the new generation, born in America, Germany held little sentimental interest as a Fatherland. Instead, it presented to them a picture of confused political reorganization, diplomatic bickering and reactionary influences.

There is no better illustration of the gradual union of two civilizations than the concessions made by the Germans in favor of the English language. It was made from necessity and not from choice. War, politics and business made it difficult to maintain strict isolation in the matter of language. “When a German settler purchased a tract of land, the deed was made out in English; when he was forced into court with a lawsuit, the complaint was in English; when his son went to school he might have to read English books; if he were elected to the Assembly he would have to debate in English. English words and expressions began to creep into his dialect so that he found himself talking about a fens, a zapling, fram haus, seyder press, mortgatsche, bille-sal.”⁶

It was natural that a new dialect should develop, formed from a mixture of the German of the Palatinate and Wurtemberg, and such English words and phrases as were in most common usage. Like the “French” of the American soldier in France,

⁵ Wertenbaker, “The Middle Colonies,” p. 292.

⁶ Ibid.

it was neither consistent nor grammatical, but it served its purpose. But for the schools and churches, the language problem was more puzzling. They could not recognize a gradual mixture of the two languages in colloquial form. They had to use either good German, or good English, or both. All the schools hoped to provide adequate training in two languages (as they still do today, without much more success). Few accomplished it satisfactorily. In a pioneer country, with facilities for rural education difficult at best, it was hard enough to provide any training in one language. German groups isolated on farms, as many of them were, preserved the dialect of their native German province as the natural order of things.

The opposition which had been met by the Charity Schools of Schlatter, on the ground that they might bring about the loss of the German language for children, has been mentioned. However, during and after the Revolutionary period, a change became noticeable in the attitude of the Germans. The introduction of political interests, which were very important in Pennsylvania, the unifying effects of the war, the growth of the new generation, and the cessation of close relationships with their native country, all helped to encourage a more friendly attitude toward the use of English.

When a school was planned in 1785 in Lancaster County, the petition of the subscribers stated that "the aforesaid townships (Cocalico, Brecknock, Caernarvon, Salisbury, and Earl) are much inhabited by Germans who are desirous to have their children instructed in the English language, as we of the English nation are also to have our children

instructed in the German language: because both languages appear to us in this country essential to the man of business and for almost every profession and calling. But that we labor under many inconveniences for want of able masters, because a few neighbors who join in setting up a private school, and sometimes at great expense, cannot expect to employ a capable master; neither as it frequently happens are employers capable enough to judge of the capacity of such masters, many of whom that pretend to teach school are totally devoid of all grammatical knowledge, from whence experience has taught of late to believe that teachers particularly in English have introduced dialects foreign to the purity of that tongue.”⁷

The more conservative factions naturally viewed the trend toward English with alarm, and various groups took firm stands in the defense of certain German traditions, cultural inheritances and language. The “Deutsche Gesellschaft” of Philadelphia took the most prominent part in this movement.⁸ In 1789 the “Mosheimische Gesellschaft” was organized by young Germans to encourage and maintain the use of the German language. But when they planned the establishment of a German library, they met with criticism from the “progressives” who claimed it would be better for the Germans if they would forget their own language and learn to speak better English.⁹ Knauss attributes some of the decline in German usage to the fact that English newspapers ordinarily printed news sooner than

⁷ Minutes of Gen. Assembly of Penna. Feb. 22, 1785.

⁸ See Knauss, “Social Conditions” p. 112.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 114-115.

the German papers, and caused Germans to neglect the German papers.¹⁰ The same author states that by 1820, there was no newspaper published in the German language in Philadelphia.¹¹

Those who favored the German language fought a losing battle. The Lutheran churches in Philadelphia, which used the German language exclusively, found that many of the pupils in their congregations were going to schools where English was taught. This was naturally the tendency in cities to a greater extent than in rural communities. In Lancaster in 1787, almost everybody spoke German. Cazenove said "all the inhabitants of Lebanon were German", in 1794.¹² "The fact that small inland towns like Reading and Lancaster could support two German papers in 1800, poor though they were, while Philadelphia and vicinity, with at least as large a German population and with its much higher culture, could barely support two wretched sheets, permits us to draw a fairly accurate conclusion as to the relative use of the language in the interior as compared with Philadelphia." ¹³

By 1815 the trend towards the English language had become too strong for successful opposition. Even the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" minutes in 1818 record the resolution, "Whereas inconveniences have been felt in keeping the record of this Society in the German language, therefore, resolved that all the proceedings of this Society be conducted in the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 111.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 118 ff.

¹² Journal, p. 94.

¹³ Knauss, "Social Conditions," p. 117.

English language,"¹⁴—a resolution which continued in force until the new wave of immigration in the forties and fifties, when the German language was resumed.

One of the most vigorous conflicts in connection with the language question took place in the Race Street Church of Philadelphia, in charge of Rev. Helfenstein. On two separate occasions the church was split, once an English party leaving to organize a new church, and at another time a German group founding their own church.

"To the older pastors," wrote Dubbs, "the change of language presented peculiar difficulties. They not only foresaw the time when they would be supplanted by ministers of different speech and manners, but the question naturally suggested itself, that it might not be worth while to maintain the German Reformed Church as a separate body when its distinguishing speech and customs were so rapidly passing away. The 'denominational consciousness' had not yet been developed, and it was indeed a serious question whether the circumstances warranted a separate organization."¹⁵

The gradual introduction of the "Pennsylvania-German" dialect contributed to the gradual disappearance of "pure" German, and this mixed dialect grew most rapidly during the transition period, when immigration was slight, and when children born of German parents in this country had little sentimental attachment for the language of their homeland. As English newspapers and Eng-

¹⁴ Knauss, *Ibid.*, p. 118; Seidensticker and Heinrici, *Geschichte der Deutschen. Gessellschaft*, p. 65.

¹⁵ Dubbs, "The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania" pp. 271-272.

lish schools became more generally accepted, the process of Americanization proceeded regularly and rather inevitably in every field. It was natural, however, that religious worship should be the last institution to permit this change to take place. Prayers and hymns were seldom read from books, but had been memorized from parents and grandparents. Every family possessed a family Bible, but they knew it by heart. Their religion was deeply emotional, and to change the ritual of worship would practically change the entire religious belief of a people so thoroughly pious as the German folk of Pennsylvania. To the older people in particular, the German language in the church was the essence of their religious tradition, a comforting return to the devotion and faith of their fathers. It would not do to simply sing "Our God is a strong fortress," and consider that it was as satisfactory as the famous strains of "Ein feste Burg ist Unser Gott."

In 1815, in connection with a dispute over language in a Lutheran congregation, the group favoring the continuation of German—two hundred in number—signed a petition pledging to defend with their lives the German form of worship. Twenty-one of the two hundred could not write their own names, but had to place an "x" on the petition.¹⁶ But in 1836 a resolution was passed in the Lutheran Synod permitting pastors who preached exclusively in English, and who could not speak fluently in German, to address the Synod in English. The change was inevitable.¹⁷

Another factor characteristic of the German popu-

¹⁶ Pfatteicher, H. E., "The Ministerium" p. 44.

¹⁷ Cf. Ibid., p. 54; Dunaway, "History of Pennsylvania," p. 729.

lation of Pennsylvania during this period is the continuation of a traditional cultural standard, evidenced by their intellectual interests.

Colonial writers and colonial travellers who did not understand the German language often commented on what they considered the ignorance or illiteracy of the German settlers of Pennsylvania. The fact that most of the Germans did not speak the English language, and did not always understand it, was largely responsible for this implication. Benjamin Franklin's letter about the Germans in 1753 indicated this point of view, when he stated, "Few of them in the country know English. They import many books from Germany."¹⁸ They did not adopt a language which they did not need. The early migrations had brought large numbers of German peasants to America, representing about the same general standards which were found among the agricultural population which had emigrated from England, France and Spain at various periods. Describing the intellectual standards of New England, for instance, Fiske wrote, "The people of Colonial New England were not all well-educated, nor were all their country schools better than old field schools. The farmer's boy, who was taught for two winter months by a man and two summer months by a woman, seldom learned more in the district school than how to read, write and cipher."¹⁹ However, the racial groups from these countries had the benefit of some official national interest in their educational welfare. The German immigrants were not recipients of much organized interest from their

¹⁸ Franklin, Works, Ford, ed. v. 2.

¹⁹ Fiske, "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors" v. 2. p. 251.

homeland and they arrived in this country at a much later date than the large mass of English immigrants. The chief agencies for their cultural welfare were church leaders in their home country, and preachers who had come to America during the latter eighteenth century. The preacher in particular was responsible for much of the intellectual interest and development which existed in the new German communities of Pennsylvania.

Naturally, there was an interest in German culture. The widespread printing and importation of German books indicates that illiteracy was far from common. Advertisements of imported books were frequent, and some of them came in large quantities. Works of Goethe, Lessing and Gellert were popular and sent to this country in large numbers. Lancaster booksellers in 1790 advertised Moliere, Gellert, Klopstock's "Der Messias," Meusel's "Neues Museum fur Kuenstler and Kunstliebdcichte," "Sechs Choral vorspiele fuer die Orgel," and a wide variety of literature.²⁰ There were German bookstores in every town of importance in Pennsylvania.²¹

Lancaster had a circulating library for the Germans before the Revolution, and several experiments were made with German libraries in Philadelphia. Cazenove says that at Easton, "in one of the stores there were many books, well bound. They were all Bibles, Psalms and Chris Coppe's sermons, printed in Germany and which sell very well here and in the vicinity, where the people are very religious." ²² This was in 1794.

²⁰ Lancaster Zeitung, October 27, 1790, and following issues.

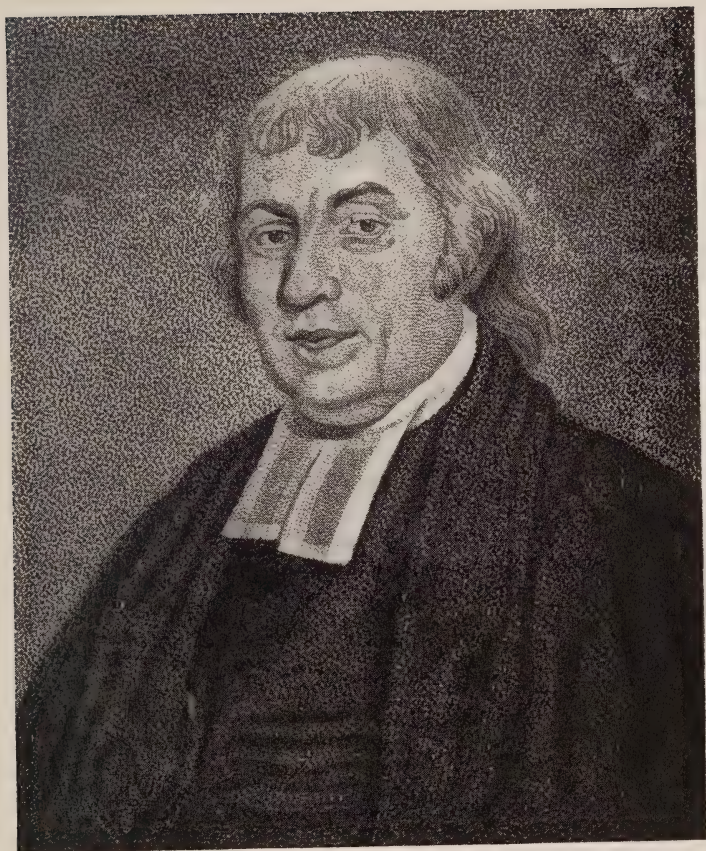
²¹ See Knauss, pp. 98 to 100 for lists of booksellers and books.

²² Journal, p. 18.

That there was interest in intellectual improvement is shown by the frequency with which their ministers in synodical meetings emphasized the desirability of expanding their educational system to meet the needs of an expanding population. No racial group in America was more jealous of the cultural inheritance which it had brought from the Old World, and more determined to maintain it. But this was a difficult period in which to accomplish it. Schaff says "Good schools, of a higher or lower kind, cannot be established in a decade, even if the external means were at hand, which is usually not the case in new settlements . . . They need time for growth and development. A colony is not simply separated from the cultural atmosphere of the mother country, from the strong and firm roots of history, but also from the influence of historic laws and customs. It is left to itself and at the mercy of every temptation to an unrelated condition. No wonder then that a period of degeneration occurs when the contact with the old home is cut off through the cessation of immigration."²³

Throughout this transition period two factions seem to have divided the Pennsylvania Germans. There was a conservative group, firmly insistent upon the preservation of every possible phase of German civilization, through language, customs, tradition and even superstition. Some of them found expression for their opinions in the various German societies which formed during this period. They resented the fusion which was so definitely taking place, and in churches, schools, political and commercial affairs, they attempted to draw a definite

²³ *Kirchenfreund*, vol. 1, 1848.



Gotthilf Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, first president of
Franklin College.

line between the German and all other racial groups. There also developed a more progressive element, which anticipated the inevitable compromise which was bound to come in the future. It was largely through this group that many of the Germans in Pennsylvania became prominent in state and national politics, and that the churches and schools did not insist upon making a stubborn issue out of the question of language.

The dominant factor in the civilization of the German people in Pennsylvania was their religious viewpoint. It influenced their schools, charitable associations, social relationships, intellectual interests and political policies. The nature of their pietistic background was such as to make them distinctly different in this respect from most of the other groups in America.

While the Lutheran and Reformed churches were the largest of the German denomination, there were many others which also reflect a similar spiritual interest. Moravians, Mennonites, Dunkers, Seventh Day Baptists and German Catholics were the most prominent of the smaller groups. These denominations, however, remained comparatively isolated from each other, and there was little cooperation between any of them except in the case of the Lutheran and Reformed. In this respect, the dedication of Franklin College in 1787 was unusual, since it witnessed the joint participation of many denominations.

The Dunkers and Mennonites took little part in public life, refraining from legal, military or political affairs. The Moravians were noted for their interest in educational and missionary work, but

there was no cooperation between them and the two large denominations, because of differences of opinion which caused dissension. The Seventh Day Baptists remained in isolation at the Ephrata Cloisters. German Catholics were small in number, constituting only about three percent of the total German population.²⁴

The religious background of the Pennsylvania Germans was apparent in many activities of their daily life. Christopher Saur, Philadelphia's prominent German publisher during the colonial period, could be depended upon to bring the attention of his reading public to religious conditions in the various denominations throughout Pennsylvania. Pastors and congregations frequently introduced charitable measures to relieve the condition of the poor and needy. Leaders of many German congregations took an active part in the support of the Revolutionary War, and the new government which was established. Movements to maintain proper Sabbath observance were carried on constantly, although one committee reported that "desecration of the Lord's Day was increasing, especially in those districts where the national improvements are located, and the facilities of railroads, canals and steamboat navigation is possessed."²⁵

They were particularly anxious to keep education as a function of the church, as it had been in Germany. The suggestion of a state school system in Pennsylvania brought a storm of protest from the churches between 1796 and 1800. In the Reformed Church, Rev. Hendel "called attention to the propo-

²⁴ Knauss, p. 45.

²⁵ Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Ref. Church, 1836 p. 11.

sition in the House of Representatives, threatening the overthrow of the instruction of youth in the true Christian religion, and proposed to take into consideration how it may be defeated or amended.”²⁶ Many German papers attacked it, the “*Reader Zeitung*” opposing it because the congregations would have no voice in selecting or dismissing the teachers; the teachers would not be required to give catechetical instruction, and everybody, whether he had children or not, would have to pay taxes for the support of the schools.²⁷

The transition period for the German people of Pennsylvania cannot justifiably be considered a period of degeneration; it was rather an uncertain, quiescent era, during which the interplay of two cultural backgrounds was at work. At the close of the period, the Pennsylvania-German has appeared, as a definite character in the social and political life of America; but there is also another German element different from the Pennsylvania-German. This was the group who adopted the English language, but adapted it for the maintenance of their high standard of cultural interest, based on the European tradition which was their inheritance. Led by many teachers, scholars and preachers, this group succeeded in establishing a pride and respect for culture in general, and for German culture in particular, which was to be a factor of importance in later American intellectual development.

²⁶ Acts and Proceedings, April 25th, 1796.

²⁷ Knauss, p. 79.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TRANSITION PERIOD FOR THE GERMAN CHURCHES IN PENNSYLVANIA

During the period of transition between 1787 and 1832, each of the large German churches in Pennsylvania—the Reformed and the Lutheran—began the organization of a theological seminary and a college. The movement to establish these institutions, in both denominations, illustrated the changing situation of the congregations in Pennsylvania during this period of new plans and projects.

The plan to establish a college for the education of the German population of Pennsylvania marked the close of the previous period. Franklin College was a pioneer experiment, established with enthusiasm and cooperative support from many groups and denominations. But Franklin College did not fulfill all the hopes and plans of its founders. Within a few years it became apparent that the college could best continue as a sort of academy and that its original purpose could not be carried out unless its faculty could be retained on a satisfactory financial basis. The Reformed Church Coetal letter of 1790 stated, in response to a query as to the nature and chief purpose of the school, that “the said school failed a year ago already, because, on account of the general hard times, the professors did not receive their salaries . . . Our chief purpose in establishing this school was to have our German youth instructed in such languages and sciences as to

qualify them in the future to fill public offices in the Republic and perhaps hereafter if this school should continue, to prepare young men for the ministry.”¹

But Franklin College did not fail completely, as this letter would seem to indicate. It continued as a school in Lancaster, and its Board of Trustees remained as supervisors of the institution and custodians of its property, until the time was more suitable for the realization of its original aims.

This did not help the problem of the German congregations. The supply of candidates for the ministry from Europe had steadily become smaller, with the troubled conditions of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era. Many ministers were unsatisfactory, many new congregations were being formed, many calls constantly came for pastoral help, and the general standard of candidates seems to have become lower than that which had been established by the European universities in an earlier period.

The minutes of the Synod meetings of the Reformed Church, for example, present a very complete account, as they are traced throughout this period, of both the nature of the church problem, and the growing conviction that another effort would have to be made for the training of ministers in this country.

At the beginning of the period, requests from congregations for ministers are frequent. In 1791, a request from Virginia was read, and “as it was expected that a number of ministers would soon arrive from Europe, it was resolved that in case

¹ Minutes of the Coetus, p. 441.

two ministers arrive, one of them shall be sent to Virginia, but should there be so many arrive that two can be sent thither, it shall be done.”²

There was no doubt of the need for them. Calls were received at the same meeting from vacant congregations at Baltimore, Hagerstown, Shippensburg, Saucon and Springfield.³ The Synod resolved that it “had the right at all times to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking or waiting for permission to do so from the fathers in Holland.”⁴

Gradually the Synod took into its own hands the function of examining the qualifications of candidates. Active ministers trained young theological students themselves and recommended them to the Coetus for admission to the ministry. Sometimes they were well-trained, sometimes they were accepted with misgivings. In 1792, Dominie Herman (one of the Halle group) stated that “young Samuel Weiberg had been for some time past instructed by him in the sciences connected with theology, and purposed offering himself for examination during the coming years; and requested that the student referred to might be ordained for the ministry after he had passed a satisfactory examination, which request was granted by the Reverend Coetus.”⁵ A similar example was shown in a letter received from Reverend Gross, in New York, stating that “Rev. Hendel’s son had pursued his theological studies under his direction to such an extent as

² Acts and Proceedings of the Coetus and Synod of the German Reformed Church, 1791. p. 4.

³ Ibid. p. 4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 1792, p. 6.

to be able not only to preach with great acceptance, but also to undergo a vigorous examination, and therefore requested the Rev. Coetus to appoint a Committee to attend to this examination in the middle of October; whereupon the Committee was appointed.”⁶

This same committee, reporting upon the *tentamen*, or examination, given to another candidate, stated that “he had not given such satisfactory answers as they had expected from him, to the dogmatical questions proposed. Still, out of regard to the Goshenhoppen congregation and his widowed mother, the examination was approved, by a majority of votes, and it was resolved that a committee be appointed to ordain him as soon as possible.”⁷ At the same sessions the committee reported that the *tentamen* held with candidate Mann resulted fully to their satisfaction and the Coetus authorized his ordination.⁸

The above examination presents an interesting contrast to the examination of young Henry Muhlenberg a short time before, who arrived from Halle as a boy in his 'teens, and whose linguistic and theological background showed what might be expected from European university training.

At the 1793 meeting, one of the candidates, “young Mr. Hendel, was assigned the duty of preaching before the Synod from Romans 8:1, which he attended to accordingly and gave full satisfaction both as to composition and delivery.”⁹ It is sig-

⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷ Ibid., 1792, p. 7.

⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

nificant that Hendel's candidacy was no sooner approved than the Synod received six calls for ministers, two of them for Hendel in particular. They could only promise that pastors would be provided as soon as possible.

This meeting, in 1793, accomplished the final separation of the Reformed Church from Holland. This had been anticipated for several years, but the final break was difficult to make. Intimations of possible separation had been made in connection with the movement to establish Franklin College, when the Reformed Church found that financial help from Holland was not forthcoming, and that the European group was reluctant to accept the qualifications of ministers trained in America.¹⁰

Between 1786 and 1793, the correspondence between the American group and Holland became brief and irregular, and indicated a mutual dissatisfaction on the part of Pennsylvania groups because of unsatisfactory ministers, and long delays in the approval of the Holland group; and dissatisfaction on the part of Holland because of the apparent inability of Pennsylvania congregations to meet their financial obligations.

Finally, in 1793, a resolution was passed, by a majority of votes, that "for the present, we will transmit to our Fathers in Holland only a letter, but not our proceedings."¹¹

The situation continued after the separation. In 1794, "Mr. Gross of New York proposed another young man for examination and ordination, of the

¹⁰ Minutes of the Coetus, Coetal letter of 1786; "We would rather get along as best we can, than further give offense to other denominations or sects, for we all dwell together here."

¹¹ Acts and Proceedings of the Synod, 1793, p. 10.

name of Philip Milledoler," a young man who was to be selected, a few years later, to head the first theological seminary of the Reformed Church. "John Gobrecht and George Geistweidt also announced themselves for examination. Mr. Hoffmeier from Germany was likewise admitted to examination." ¹² There was no unemployment problem for the ministerial student during this period!

Not every candidate was accepted—one young man was censured by a vote of Synod and pronounced no longer worthy to be regarded as a teacher in the church.¹³

For successive meetings, the calls for trained ministers continued to come in, and the Synod had no recourse but to await chance arrivals from Europe, or possibly to lower their standard of qualification for those who applied. But they kept their standards as high as possible. A resolution was proposed that "no one shall be received into our connection who has not the requisite knowledge of the languages, theology or moral philosophy," ¹⁴ but it was postponed, probably because it might have been difficult to enforce. In 1795, "two candidates from Virginia reported themselves to the Synod for ordination, but the examining committee proved that they would be qualified to submit to an examination at the next annual meeting in case they in the meantime applied themselves closely to their studies." ¹⁵

¹² Ibid., 1794, p. 12.

¹³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴ Ibid., 1794, p. 14; 1795, p. 15.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1795, p. 16.

Those in service in the ministry found themselves over-taxed. In 1796 the Synod requested "the six congregations to which Mr. Hendel preaches, to allow one Sabbath in the year to be taken from each one of them in order that the congregations beyond the Blue Mountains may be supplied with the divine ordinances," which gave Mr. Hendel seven congregations.¹⁶

Year after year, calls came for ministers, applicants were examined and passed, or examined and rejected. In 1803, "a certain man recently from Germany, N. Brunings, requested Synod in some way or other to admit him to the ministry; which however the Synod declined to do on account of his improper life and conduct."¹⁷ In 1807, "Mr. Lewis Mayer was examined," the man who was later to be one of the most diligent leaders of the educational projects of his denomination.¹⁸ Not so satisfactory was candidate Kroll, whom congregations in Luzerne County requested to have "placed in a position to administer the Holy Sacraments." There were, however, so many complaints made against him in reference to the vice of drunkenness "that a large majority voted to favor his dismissal."¹⁹

In 1811, realizing the need for some definite regulations with regard to individuals applying for admission to the ministry, they resolved that "hereafter everyone who is received into the ministry after he has been examined, shall be continued as a licentiate for three years before he can be ordained

¹⁶ Ibid., 1796, p. 18.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1803, p. 34.

¹⁸ Ibid., 1807, p. 43.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1811, p. 51.

and no one can be ordained before he is twenty-one years of age.”²⁰ A short time later they decided that all licensed young men should prior to taking charge of congregations, make a missionary tour to “distant and destitute regions and devote to this important and necessary work a period of two or three months.”²¹ The need for pastors was again emphasized. Some students were recommended for their licenses, with the pessimistic “desire and hope that they will endeavor, by untiring diligence, to increase their knowledge.”²²

Most alarming was the news that some of the New Jersey congregations were going over to the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches, because the Reformed Synod could no longer supply them with ministers.²³

Such were the problems of the Reformed Church during the early years of the transition period. Franklin College had not realized its purpose; the church found itself with many congregations and few ministers; unsatisfactory preachers, often poorly trained, caused distress and dissatisfaction in many localities; the church itself was in danger of disorganization.

The second development of this era sees a renewal of the attempt to establish an educational institution. At the York meeting in 1817, Rev. Samuel Helfenstein moved “that on account of the additions to and the growth of our congregations, steps ought

²⁰ Ibid., 1811, p. 52.

²¹ Ibid., 1813, p. 58.

²² Ibid., 1815, p. 66.

²³ Ibid., 1815, p. 68.

to be taken to provide institutions for the training of young ministers." ²⁴

The idea was approved, and a committee was appointed to study the matter, consisting of Reverends Wack, Samuel Helfenstein, Christian Becker, Lewis Mayer and Elders Haverstick and Liebhardt. As a result of their study, cooperation between other denominations was suggested, and other committees were appointed to meet with members of the Lutheran and Dutch Reformed churches, to discuss the possibilities of joint effort among the three groups, all of them representing the German elements.

They took up the matter with enthusiasm from the beginning. The committee presented a report in 1817, describing the origin and development of the Synod. This report, printed in German, traces the advent and work of Michael Schlatter, the missionary zeal of the Holland churches in supporting the early congregations, and then pictures the destitution of the congregations in the Carolinas and Ohio in 1817, and their pleas for ministers.

"Shall we," continued the report, "the congregations assembled by Schlatter and Holland benevolence, desert the needy scattered peoples of these other states? Shall we not strive to come to their help? Shall we not see to it that these congregations who have no ministers are supplied? Already there is spiritual suffering in many sections. And how shall we in course of time provide skilled and consecrated men to preach the Gospel, to the rapidly increasing congregations in this country? Our con-

²⁴ Verhandlung Der Synode der Hoch-Deutschen Reformirten Kirche. Phila. 1818 p. 7. The minutes of the Synod were translated into English for the period 1791-1816. From 1817 they are in German for a number of years.

nection with Holland has been broken since 1792. Since that time we are no longer a coetus or a branch of the Synod of Holland but have created our own Synod of North America. Are there not in this country the descendants of good high German parents who can be trained to become skilled men, true servants of the Church, and faithful shepherds of the scattered sheep?

"Experience has taught us, both in church and state that this is possible. See how our Dutch brethren are already providing for the preparation of their students for the ministry in this country.²⁵ See how the English are providing classical academies. And only we Germans have as yet no adequate provision for the large number of our congregations, and the worthy position of the members of these churches. Let us seek the same respect and prestige in America, in schools and churches, that other nations are obtaining. Our Synod is at present engaged in finding ways and means to reach this goal, and we hope soon to find better arrangements for preparing young men for the ministry, by giving them the opportunity of receiving the necessary knowledge and culture."²⁶

In the beginning the plan proceeded with much encouragement. In 1818, the Lutheran Synod appointed a Committee to cooperate, and the presiding officer of the Reformed Synod "stated that it would be highly advisable to encourage the German Reformed brethren in the southern states to send their young men of piety and talent who desire to enter the Christian ministry to this region so that

²⁵ This had reference to Rutgers University.

²⁶ *Verhandlung der Synode*, etc. 1817, pp. 18-20. Trans.

under the care and at the expense of Synod they might be prepared for the ministerial office.”²⁷ This was postponed, awaiting more definite developments.

The committee conferring with the Dutch Reformed church about the establishment of a theological school reported that definite action toward establishing the new institution might be difficult, “inasmuch as the German Reformed Church, together with other Germans in the State of Pennsylvania, has a common interest in a property which the legislature of the State gave for the establishment of a German institution.”²⁸ This referred to Franklin College which was not active enough at the time to serve their purpose, but which, nevertheless, had been established to fulfill the object which they were now renewing.

Thus, by 1818, plans were under way for the theological seminary, to train ministerial students for the congregations of the three most prominent church groups, the Reformed, Lutheran and Dutch Reformed. The plans did not proceed smoothly. No denomination was quite willing to subordinate its own particular interests to those of the other two groups. The decision as to the proper location for such a school caused much delay. The choice of a suitable leader to head the institution was even of more importance. And to add to the difficulties of those who were planning the seminary, this was the period when almost every German congregation, as well as many other German organizations and societies, were faced with a problem that was to cause much dissension for several decades—should the prevalent language of the German churches, and

²⁷ *Verichtung des Synodes*, etc. 1818, pp. 10-11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1818, p. 12.

of the German peoples in America, be German or English?

This question of language, which is discussed more fully in another chapter, was a knotty problem. The minutes of the Reformed Synod are full of examples illustrating its importance. On one occasion, a committee from a Baltimore congregation visited Synod, requesting that the English language might be permitted in public service, alongside of the German, while at the same time, another faction of the same congregation appeared, protesting the introduction of English. In this instance the Synod favored the introduction of English.²⁹ A church group from Philadelphia stated that the English speaking members of their church had separated and organized their own congregation and built their own church building. The Synod granted their request for recognition and enrollment. The church was not in a position to quibble about such technicalities when it was faced with the problem of losing congregations because ministers could not be secured. This break from their tradition emphasizes the critical state of their affairs. They had reports of vacant congregations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and needed ministers, regardless of what language they used in services.

At the meeting of the Synod in Lancaster in 1819, when Rev. Lewis Mayer was president, a committee of five was appointed to confer with a similar committee of the Lutheran Synod, "for the establishment of a common theological school, with full power and authority to create a plan for the pur-

²⁹ Ibid., 1818, p. 14.

pose.”³⁰ They also decided that “all the young men who have passed through a regular course in the ancient languages, theology and other studies necessary for the ministry, after they have passed a satisfactory examination and given evidence of having led a godly life, shall immediately be ordained by the laying on of hands. But those who have not passed through a regular course of study shall be licensed for one or more years to preach the Gospel. They shall be placed under the care of a neighboring ordained minister, who shall administer the Sacraments for them, until the Synod sees fit to ordain them.”³¹ This, it was hoped, would offer an incentive to young men to take the course of study in the projected seminary.

It was in this year that the General Synod divided itself into eight “classes”, “because of the rapid growth of the American states, the increase of Reformed congregations, and the difficulty of attending a central meeting.”³²

The standard of the candidates had not been greatly improved, judging from the comment of a committee examining the journals and sermons of the applicants and reporting that “in general the sermons consisted of pure and wholesome doctrine; but some of the young men resorted to the sermons of other people, and what one in particular had written was unreadable.”³³

Most of the classes supported the idea of a seminary in their own districts. The Maryland classis

³⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

³¹ Ibid., p. 7.

³² Ibid., 1819, pp. 8-11.

³³ Ibid., p. 19.

reported in 1820 that they were convinced of the great need for the establishment of a theological school; and "therefore, resolved that our delegates to the next session of Synod shall use all their power to secure measures for the creation of such a school as soon as possible."³⁴ Zion classis reported that their delegates were instructed to support the plan for a theological seminary promised the last fall, "if the Lutheran Ministerium supported the plan; if it were not accepted, then the delegates were instructed to support the establishment of our own seminary, whenever the cost could be provided for," and named Chambersburg as the place for the erection of the school.³⁵

When the Synod met in Hagerstown in 1820, an elaborate plan was presented by the Committee, establishing the full authority of the Synod over the proposed institution. The plan was introduced as follows:

"Plan of a Theological Seminary of the German
Reformed Church in the United States
of America.

- "1. The Synod has supreme authority over the German Reformed Church in the United States of America. This Synod therefore shall have the sovereign power over the Theological Seminary, its officers, laws and reputations.
- "2. Synod shall elect the trustees consisting of twelve ministers, who shall be chosen every three years at a meeting of Synod.

³⁴ *Verhandlung der General-Synode, 1820, p. 9.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

"3. The professors shall be elected by the Synod." etc.³⁶

Another interesting provision of the detailed plan was the decision that in the future no minister was permitted to take charge of a young man in order to instruct him in theology; he was permitted only to introduce him to the preparatory studies.

The plan was adopted with much enthusiasm, a board of trustees was elected, and a professor, the Reverend Philip Milledoler, of New York, was chosen at a proposed salary of two thousand dollars a year. For the second time, an institution to provide ministers for the German congregations of America was inaugurated.

The plan was not perfect nor did it meet with general approval throughout the state. Private theological schools and teachers must have felt some dissatisfaction with the new provision which excluded their students from immediate acceptance by the Reformed Synod, and there were many private teachers in eastern Pennsylvania, particularly in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The location of the new seminary was generally conceded to be Frederick, Maryland, due to the activity and interest of Judge Abraham Shriver. This met with opposition from rival towns.

Of more importance was the fact that the detailed plan for the new institution did not specify a definite stand on the question of language. It was generally supposed that it would be conducted on an English basis, since the trend seemed to be in that direction. However, the entire membership of the Synod was thrown into violent confusion and lengthy debate for

³⁶ Ibid., p. 19-21.

several meetings. The denomination almost split completely on the question in 1821, when a convention of all ministers was called in Reading to discuss the problem.³⁷ After much heated argument, a satisfactory compromise was suggested by Reverend Becker, who saved the church from complete division by proposing "that Dr. Milledoler be required to give instruction both in the German and English languages; that he shall either deliver lectures, or place in the hands of his students, such German or English textbooks as may be approved of by the Reverend Synod; and that his remarks and explanations shall be made in the German or English language, according as the wants of the students may require, who shall then be examined to ascertain whether they understand what they are taught."³⁸

This seemed fair, but it did not bring complete accord. The faction which wanted to keep the traditional language of the church opposed any concession to the group which favored the gradual introduction of English. Dr. Mayer described a gloomy prospect in 1821, saying, "A storm was gathering in the East among the German brethren and threatening to burst upon us with destructive effect. They had a meeting at Kutztown, organized an opposition, issued a printed circular, inviting their brethren to join them, appointed a committee of three to meet our Board at Philadelphia to protest against the measure of Synod and our proceedings in relation to the Seminary, and recommended the calling of a professor from Germany."³⁹

³⁷ *Verhandlung einen Allgemeinen Synode.* 1821.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁹ Letter to B. C. Wolff, York, June 25th, 1821.

The progressive element, realizing that the educational institution was of more importance than a final decision upon the complicated language question, finally succeeded in having their compromise plan approved, although only after the English group had threatened to secede from the Reformed church, and to unite with the Dutch Reformed, thereby splitting the entire denomination. An effort was made to have the earlier resolution amended so as to have the professor "lecture principally in German, and occasionally in English," but this was opposed. The group was finally pacified by a later proposal that every student in the Seminary should be able to speak the German language correctly before he could be admitted into the ministry of the church.

For five years, from 1817 to 1822, the plan had been discussed, amended, debated and denounced. Now it seemed that every obstacle had been removed. The ceremonies inaugurating the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church were scheduled for the month of June, 1822.

The one point on which there had been practically no difficulty whatsoever during this five-year period of organization was the suitability of Rev. Philip Milledoler.⁴⁰ When news of his appointment was circulated, subscriptions for the proposed institution came in with most encouraging funds. Dr. Milledoler was well known in New York and Philadelphia, and it was rather generally understood that his salary would be endowed for him by friends in

⁴⁰ Rev. Milledoler was born in Rhinebeck, N. Y. in 1775. He was a graduate of Columbia College in 1793; pastor of the German Reformed Church in New York from 1794 to 1800; pastor of a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia from 1800 to 1805; pastor of a Presbyterian church in New York from 1805 to 1813; and pastor of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church in New York from 1813 to 1825. He became professor of Theology at Rutgers College and president of that institution.

New York when he assumed the new position. Now, a few weeks before his inaugural address was to take place, the proposed theological seminary received its most discouraging blow. Dr. Milledoler suddenly and unexpectedly declined to accept!

The reasons for his refusal are not particularly important to us. His decision was partly due to reluctance to leave his New York position, and partly because of possible doubts as to the cooperation and unity which might be expected from the disputing English and German branches. The entire plan seemed to have passed through its many tribulations only to meet with final failure. Equally serious was the news that many pledges, which had been subscribed in anticipation of his arrival, were cancelled.

The effect of this discouraging development was difficult to overcome but plans were made to take other steps at once. Unfortunately, the situation now presented another opportunity for the language question to present itself. If another president was to be chosen, should he represent the English or the German side? Mayer wrote, "What we shall do I cannot tell . . . Mr. Hinsch and others wish to get one from Germany, where it is said men of the finest talents and acquainted with the English language may be had. If all this be so, I shall rejoice in it, but I am afraid to buy a cat in a bag."⁴¹ His comment indicates the gap which had developed between the European and American churches during the transition period. A generation earlier they had begged for European ministers.

A new location and a new professor had to be selected at once, if the project was not to fail com-

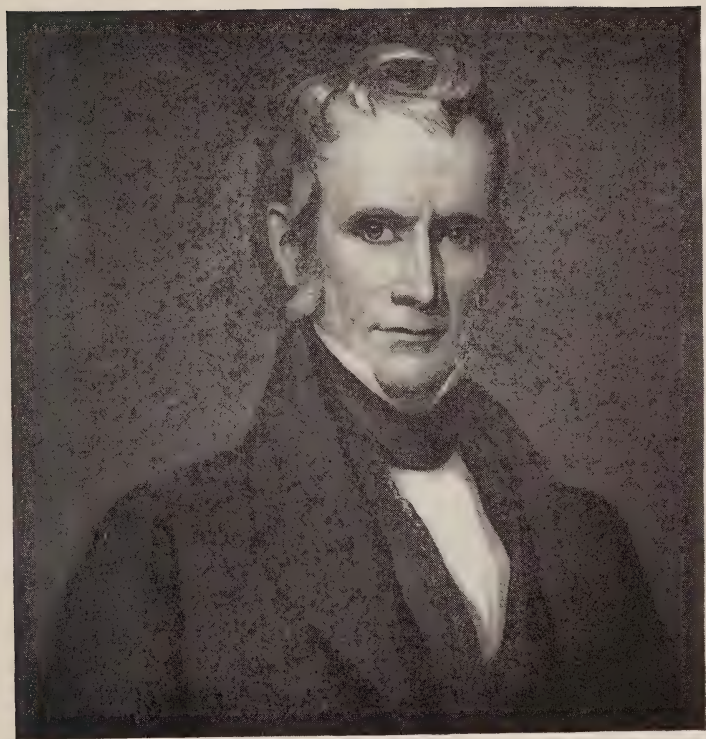
⁴¹ York, May 21, 1822.

pletely. At the Synod meeting at Baltimore in 1823, Rev. Helfenstein of Philadelphia was chosen as professor at a salary of five hundred dollars a year, and Harrisburg was tentatively selected as the location.⁴² Local problems in that city presented unexpected difficulties, and finally the Rev. Ebaugh, of Carlisle, took the lead in proposing the establishment of the theological seminary in that locality. From the board of trustees of Dickinson College, Carlisle, came a proposal that a connection be formed between the new seminary and the college, which it was supposed would be of great help to both institutions. They offered the seminary the use of a lecture room, the rent of a house for the professor, and the use of the library for the theological students. It was also stipulated that the professor of theology would teach History and German at Dickinson College.⁴³

The proposal was accepted. A college and a theological seminary were to work in conjunction with each other. The institution began under Dr. Lewis Mayer instead of Rev. Helfenstein, who resigned shortly after his appointment. Dr. Mayer's enthusiasm and diligence were inspiring, but the expected union with Dickinson College was not as promising as had been anticipated. There were not many students in the seminary, and very few from the college were interested in the study of German. Mayer himself wrote, "When I accepted that call the prospect of establishing a seminary was so dark and discouraging that no brother whose situation at the time was pleasant could have been induced to accept

⁴² *Verhandlung*, etc. p. 22.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1824, pp. 30-31. Trustees letter recorded in English.



Lewis Mayer

the professorship. I gave up a certainty for an uncertainty, relinquished a better living and subjected myself to a series of untried labors, resolved, at the hazard of all that I held dear, if it were the will of God, to make the effort to lay the foundation of an institution which I hoped would be a blessing to the Church for ages to come." ⁴⁴

Had it not been for the unusual character and perseverance of Dr. Mayer, the institution might have been an immediate failure. It was not an immediate success. One of its most pressing problems was that of finances, which did not always take care of Professor Mayer's salary. An unusual and interesting incident, shortly after the new school had begun, provided some unexpected financial assistance and attracted much attention to the possibilities of the new seminary.

Dr. James Ross Reily, a Hagerstown pastor, did for the Theological Seminary what Schlatter had done for the poor German congregations in the previous century. He decided to make a personal appeal for help from the church in Europe, resigned his charge, and was appointed to go to Europe to seek money and books. There were some doubts as to the success of the plan at first, but it proved to be a valuable and stimulating contact. This expedition of Rev. Reily's to Europe, soliciting funds for a newly founded theological school in Pennsylvania, was the first definite, personal contact of importance between the European and American churches since the separation of the church from Holland. It was the New World returning to the Old World in an

⁴⁴ Letter reprinted in Dubbs, J. H. "History of the Reformed Church, p. 286.

effort to re-establish a friendly relationship which had been voluntarily broken in previous years.

The reception which he received in the Europe of 1825 was extremely interesting, and probably unexpected. He was advised by German and Dutch preachers, on his arrival in London, to abandon his project, in view of the many demands which were already being made upon them for funds.⁴⁵ Preachers in Rotterdam and the Hague received him without encouragement. However, he met a former boyhood acquaintance in Amsterdam who introduced him to the proper authorities, and within a short time he was receiving unusual prominence and a large amount of publicity. The Holland Synod presented him with one thousand florins, discovering that for a long time they had kept a fund for Pennsylvania church help, but had done nothing with it. Reily travelled along the Rhine and the Ruhr, preaching and making many interested friends. He records at least twenty-eight European cities in which he received contributions of money, among them Cologne, Frankfort, Heidelberg, Basle, Zurich, Lucerne, Geneva, Darmstadt, Leipzig, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen and many others.

Of particular interest is the fact that in Heidelberg he was actively supported by Kirchenrath Daub. A number of books were collected here for him, and a contact was established between the Pennsylvania seminary and this distinguished teacher, whose pupil, Dr. Rauch, was to come to

⁴⁵ Reily's report is printed in "Synodal-Verhandlungen der Hoch-Deutschen Reformirten Kirche, gehalten in York, 1827." Phila. 1828, pp. 59-88; See also article in "Magazine of the German Ref. Church" February 1828, p. 121 et seq.

America within a few years to become president of a branch of this same institution.

In Berlin the King of Prussia presented him with two hundred Rix dollars ⁴⁶ and gave him permission to announce the purpose of his visit in the public press. In brief, the Reily trip, without much initial hope of success, ended with an amazing collection of about seven thousand florins ⁴⁷ in cash, and a library of several thousand books, some of them of unusual value.

An editorial in the newly established Magazine of the German Reformed Church ⁴⁸ commented upon the contrast between the generosity of the Europeans, and the parsimony of local congregations, remarking that "these contributors are foreigners. Among them are widows, orphans and servants, who have given in their poverty. They have never seen us and cannot hope to be benefited by us . . . But how does their noble generosity rebuke the parsimony, the selfishness and the chilling indifference of the members of our church, the very persons whom it is designed to benefit; of those especially who are not widows and orphans and maid-servants ⁴⁹ . . . And what will the feelings of such members be when they meet these strangers in the presence of God, and both are judged according to their works." ⁵⁰

These gifts relieved the financial pressure somewhat, but other difficulties arose. A dissension

⁴⁶ Value 72 cents in 1828.

⁴⁷ Value 40 cents each.

⁴⁸ Edited at the Seminary by Lewis Mayer, beginning in 1827.

⁴⁹ Reily's account records a gift from a maid who sold a silver cup to secure the money. Jewelry, watches, locketts, etc., were also collected.

⁵⁰ Magazine of the German Ref. Church, March 1828, p. 149.

developed in the Board of Trustees over the matter of the purchase of a property in Carlisle, and caused some ill-feeling. Dr. Mayer wrote in 1827, "I labor here with a slow painful progress. The number of our students is only eight, and none of them is distinguished for talents or acquirements. The Seminary is neglected by its professed friends. The situation resembles that of a little barque on a rough sea, with a pilot, indeed, and a compass on board, but without sails or seamen to manage the ship, tossed by the winds and waves, in constant danger of being dashed upon quicksands or rocks, ever and anon addressed by a passing vessel under easy sail, that hails her, asks her how she does, wishes her a pleasant voyage and bears away. I shall not abandon this suffering ship until I discover that she is sinking, which I hope and pray may not be." ⁵¹

An editorial in the church publication a short time later swerved dangerously from traditional piety by impatiently stating, "We are heartily weary of being told to trust in Divine Providence, while no adequate means, or no means at all are employed to insure success. Even a Heathen fable, without the Bible, taught us in our childhood that those who would succeed in any enterprise must put their shoulders to the wheel. Unless we adopt this method, it is in truth nothing better than a foolish desire that God may come and do for us what we have no inclination to perform. We cannot perform the duties of the seminary and at the same time procure the means for its support. To the former we have attended. The Professor has devoted to it all his time and strength; he has sacrificed to it his pecuniary interest and his

⁵¹ Apple. Th., "The Beginnings of the Theological Seminary," p. 73.

personal comfort; and what is more, he has very seriously and perhaps irretrievably impaired his health. A continuance of the present deplorable state of things will very soon bring the question to a decision.”⁵²

By 1829 the situation at Carlisle became impossible, and Dr. Mayer, on his own responsibility, purchased a property in York. The Synod gave its approval to the removal of the seminary to this new location, with the provision that another location might be chosen at some future date if it seemed advisable.

In the search for a new location that would be most satisfactory, Dr. Mayer, in 1829, requested that the Synod appoint a committee to investigate conditions at Franklin College in Lancaster, and possibly co-operate with the Lutheran Church in planning a new classical institution⁵³. His chief problem in York was caused by the fact that candidates for theological study did not have any adequate preliminary training. The Seminary could not make progress unless some agency was also provided to give students their basic preparation. He summed up the educational problem of the Reformed Church, at the end of the transition period, as follows:

“It is impossible that a professor, who is burthened with the care of every branch of theological study, should, at the same time perform the duties of elementary teaching; or that young men, whose minds are untutored and unfurnished, should make any considerable progress in the more difficult studies of a theological school. These studies re-

⁵² Magazine Germ. Reformed Church, July 1828, p. 292.

⁵³ Verhandlung, etc. 1829, p. 11.

quire considerable stores of knowledge previously gathered, and habits of attention, discrimination and reasoning previously formed. Without these the student can receive no benefit from lectures, nor can he read a theological work with intelligence and profit.”⁵⁴

His comments on the status of the language problem are interesting. “The English language being used exclusively in teaching in all of our academies and colleges, young men of German families, who have little or no knowledge of that language, are precluded from the benefits of those institutions and must receive their education in the higher branches from private tutors, or in the Theological Seminary . . . Those who understand the English language and have been educated at an English institution are usually so deficient in their knowledge of German that their usefulness in the ministry of our church is confined by very narrow limits. An ability to officiate in German will long continue to be a necessary qualification of our preachers, in a great majority of instances; and when the language shall have ceased to exist among the people, if it ever ceases entirely, an acquaintance with it will still be important to the student and the divine, for the purpose of opening to him the vast treasures of German literature. This noble language, I trust, will be always cultivated, as a language of learning and science, whose stores are among the richest which the world has yet seen, if they do not indeed surpass them all.”

He describes his plan for the eventual development of a seminary and a college in close union.

⁵⁴ Magazine German Reformed Church. July 1828, pp. 209-212.

“An Academy connected with our Theological school must be so organized . . . It ought to embrace the German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, Algebra and Euclid’s Elements, Geography, History, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Composition, and Elocution. The student must be taught as each may require in German or in English . . . My ulterior object would be, if it were possible, to form a literary, scientific, and theological institution for the benefit of the German population in the United States, in which the German language and literature as well as the English, should be extensively cultivated, and the German youth should be furnished with the same facilities which their English brethren so abundantly enjoy; and by which the reproach which has fallen upon us should be taken away. It is the dishonor of the German name in this country, and it is a dishonor that penetrates a generous heart with keen regrets, that there is not a single German institution of learning in the midst of half a million people.”

Commenting upon the charter and the organization of Franklin College in 1787 and describing the efforts of the trustees to maintain it properly, he wrote, “No doubt is entertained that the Germans in the State would have it in their power to have that direction given to these funds which the Legislature contemplated, but it is believed that the plan of the college which the charter requires is at this time impracticable. Whether an arrangement could not be affected which would obviate existing difficulties, while it would accomplish the main design of the Legislature, is a question which ought to re-

ceive the serious and diligent attention of the Synods of the Reformed and Lutheran church."

It is interesting to note that in the same article, a suggestion was made that a plan for "student aid" be considered at the seminary. "The experience of the past has proved the necessity of adopting some plan of uniting manual labour with study in our seminary, for the two-fold purpose of preserving the health of the students, and giving to them an opportunity to diminish the expense of their maintenance by their own earnings."

The plan of a school to prepare students for admission to the seminary was adopted, and in 1831, the "High School of the Reformed Church," a classical school at York, was established. This progressed most satisfactorily, and in 1832 the permanence of the Reformed Church educational program was assured by the appointment of Dr. Frederick Augustus Rauch, lately professor of Philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, as principal of this school.

Throughout this period, close contact was maintained with the Lutheran church, and frequent plans for cooperation were suggested, but the two denominations did not see fit to cooperate in the establishment of the seminary. However, the situation of the Lutheran church during this period was quite similar. Requests frequently came to the Ministerium from congregations, asking that itinerant preachers who came to them should be examined and ordained. Many of them were found to be un-

satisfactory⁵⁵ They too faced the question of free schools in Pennsylvania in 1796, and opposed it on the ground that it would severely injure the German congregational schools. When the language question developed, they resolved that no regulation could be adopted which would necessitate the use of another language besides German in its synodical meetings and business. They also stated that English speaking Lutherans who did not understand the German service might form themselves into separate congregations.⁵⁶

They discussed the problem of a seminary, and appointed a committee in 1818 to investigate the advisability of establishing one. Franklin College was considered as a joint institution for this purpose, but the matter was dropped. They contributed sums of money from time to time for Franklin College, but the paths of the two denominations soon led in separate directions, as far as educational plans were concerned.

Such were the difficulties which faced the Reformed Church during the period of transition. It was an era of confusion, high hopes, and difficult beginnings. The era began with the separation of the American church from its European roots. A decade passed, marked by a dire need for ministers, vacant congregations, clashes of opinion between conservative and progressive groups within the

⁵⁵ . . . as for instance, Carl Andreas Kiernulff, who "had sent Latin writings which were full of mistakes. He wished, in case the Ministerium wanted to build up the Kingdom of God, to have Friederichtown or a still better congregation. According to his manner of speaking, to build up the Kingdom of God meant to him to help him to a rich salary."

Doc. History, 1797 p. 295.

⁵⁶ Documentary History of the Ministerium, p. 353. There is an excellent brief account of the problems of the Lutheran Ministerium in Pfatteicher, H. E. "The Ministerium of Pennsylvania" Phila. 1938. Schmauk and Jacobs present more detailed treatments.

German churches. The period saw a brief revival of the contact between America and Europe in Rev. Reily's dramatic appeals in Old World cities. It closed after the culmination of a laborious movement to establish a theological seminary in America to train worthy ministers for German congregations, and the establishment of a preparatory school which could prepare students to enter this seminary. It is a period in which many sincere and industrious leaders of the German church took a prominent part in the various attempts to improve their uncertain situation.

Out of the many whose idealism and whose efforts eventually brought success, perhaps no one was more influential in his determination to reach the goal than Dr. Lewis Mayer, who not only advocated the need for an educational institution vigorously and constantly, but who sacrificed his career, money and time to actually perform the labor that had to be done.

PART THREE

The Period of Development
1832 - 1853

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARSHALL COLLEGE

A new period began with the coming of Dr. Rauch to America and with the founding of Marshall College at Mercersburg. For the next twenty years, there was a sharp contrast to the period of transition, which had been marked by so many discouraging and apparently unsuccessful efforts on the part of the German churches and their constituency.

The new period was characterized first by abandonment of the idea that theological seminary and college had to be, or ought to be, the same institution. The German churches planned an institution of higher learning, and a separate theological school, for the training of their ministers. Franklin College had been founded chiefly to provide educated ministers; Marshall College was founded for the general purpose of liberal education.

This was a period in which a remarkable group of scholarly men worked in close association with each other at Marshall College. It was an era in which the new philosophical idealism of older Germany merged with the humanitarian enlightenment of the new America, and produced a distinctive viewpoint which was neither purely European nor purely American, but a composite of the most lasting qualities of both schools of thought. During these twenty years, a college with some unusual characteristics was firmly established. The permanency

of the ideals which its faculty implanted was not the result of chance or accident; they grew naturally, fostered by the renewed contacts between Germany and America during the eighteen-thirties and forties, and by the vigor which stirred American theology and educational life during the period of German idealism.

Marshall College lived during the years when the influence of the German university upon American educational ideals was at its strongest. From the time of the visit of Benjamin Franklin to the University of Goettingen in 1766—apparently the first American to inspect a German University¹—until the late nineteenth century, American colleges and universities found in the German universities their highest ideal. In increasing numbers Americans who attended German universities returned to introduce into American colleges the methods and practises which represented the ultimate aim of higher education as far as they were concerned. From the German universities they modelled their systems. They brought the lecture system into use; they introduced the seminar, in which the teacher met with advanced students to guide them as they worked. They introduced the German degree of Doctor of Philosophy, “the degree which in German universities is granted by the faculty of Philosophy, that one of the four medieval university faculties to which in Germany all the new studies and sciences were added which in modern times have become a part of university instruction. The degree of Ph. D. in spite of much opposition and ridicule, has become so firmly established in American academic

¹ See Hinsdale, “Foreign Influence upon Education”, p. 605.

life that in many places it is almost a *sine qua non* of an academic position.²

At Harvard College, the influence of the German university was particularly noticeable. Four young graduates of Harvard, whose names were to become distinguished in American letters, studied in German universities between 1815 and 1820—George Ticknor, George Bancroft, Edward Everett and Joseph Cogswell.³ "German universities were then in the first flower of their renaissance, leading Europe in every branch of learning. The young Americans admired the boundless erudition, critical acumen and unwearied diligence of German scholars, marvelled at the wealth of the university libraries, and envied the 'Lernfreiheit' or academic freedom which permitted even theological professors to challenge the bases of the state church; they returned with an ambition to transform their little brick colleges into magnificently equipped universities, dedicated to the service of science, scholarship and truth . . . Everett gave prestige, by his graceful delivery, and easily worn mantle of scholarship, to the lecture method of instruction; Bancroft applied German thoroughness to early American history; Cogswell, who secured in Germany a valuable collection of Americana, is memorable in library history; and Ticknor remained professor of belles lettres long enough to establish a worthy school of Romance and Germanic languages, and to secure the principle that undergraduates might elect them as a substitute for traditional subjects . . . And it was in part the influence of American scholars who had

² Walz, J., "German Influence in American Education", pp. 53-55.

³ Hinsdale, *Ibid.*, p. 610.

caught the flame in Germany, that made Harvard, as early as the 1830's a steadfast defender of the scholar's freedom from political and religious pressure." ⁴

American scholars thus brought from Germany certain educational ideals for transplantation in this country. German scholars also came to America at the same time. Within a few years of each other, three men came to the new world, all of them exiled from Germany for political reasons, and each of them destined to have an unusual influence on American education and letters.

One of them was Dr. Charles Follen, who was forced to leave Germany in 1824, under the same circumstances which later caused the exile of Dr. Rauch—an over-zealous patriotism which offended the reactionary government. Follen became the first teacher of German at Harvard College. The study of German in Pennsylvania was no novelty, but at Harvard in 1825, it was a new and unusual adventure. "German had never been taught in college before," wrote Peabody, ⁵ "and it was with no little difficulty that a volunteer class of eight was found desirous, or at least willing, to avail themselves of his services . . . We were looked upon with very much the amazement with which a class in some obscure tribal dialect of the remotest Orient would now be regarded. We knew of but two or three persons in New England who could read German, though there were probably many more of whom we did not know. There were no German books in

⁴ Morison and Commager, "Growth of the American Republic" pp. 411-412.

⁵ Reminiscences, pp. 117-118. Cf. Hinsdale, pp. 614-615.

the book stores . . . There was no attainable class book that could be used as a Reader." And yet, within a few years, the discovery of German literature at Harvard had brought about unusual changes. Six years later, Follen wrote, "In this university, where formerly German lore was classed under the head of 'non leguntur,' the library has lately been augmented by a considerable number of valuable works; German books, in their native type, are issuing from the university press; and there is every year an average number of 50 students of the German language"

"In Boston particularly, where as I am assured about fifty years ago not a German grammar or dictionary was to be found, there are now a number of persons who speak and a large number who read and enter into the sense and spirit of German works . . . " ⁶

Francis Lieber, forbidden to study in any Prussian university because some of his poems indicated too much love of liberty and freedom, became an exile from Germany, arriving in America in 1827. He became prominent in Philadelphia as a writer on political science, and later became internationally known as "the first great teacher of the Philosophy of Anglican Political Science." ⁷ Educator, encyclopaedist, and legal adviser for the government during the Civil War, Lieber was an excellent example of one of the best types that the German university sent to America during this period.

At Andover, in the same era, Moses Stuart, "the patriarch of sacred philology in America" was col-

⁶ Hinsdale, *Ibid.*, p. 615.

⁷ Faust, "The German Element" vol. 2 p. 167.

lecting the best German literature available, for the seminary library, and introducing many American theologians to German Biblical literature. At Amherst, and later at Union Theological Seminary, Henry Boynton Smith was using the methods he had learned in Germany, at Halle and Berlin, in philosophy and church history, and was translating German theological treatises constantly.⁸ Theodore Parker, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Horace Mann, John Lothrop Motley, Margaret Fuller, and many others were making intensive studies of German culture, which was to be the essential basis of their own contributions to American intellectual life.

The American college developed distinct characteristics during these years. "In higher education this period saw an amazing multiplication of small denominational colleges—and a somewhat less surprising mortality among them. In 16 Eastern and Mid-Western states (north and south) no less than 516 colleges and universities were founded before the Civil War; but only 104 of these were still in existence by 1929. Yale begat 16 Congregationalist colleges before 1861, and Princeton 25 Presbyterian ones . . . These institutions were all privately endowed, in some instances by funds contributed directly by the churches. It was the heyday of the small rural college, with six to a dozen professors and one to three hundred students; of six o'clock chapel, prescribed classical, mathematical course, with chemistry and physics the most popular subjects next to Greek and a smattering of French and German; 'philosophical' apparatus, mineralogical cabinet and collection of stuffed birds; Freshman

⁸ Cf. Hinsdale, p. 629; Sterns, "Henry Boynton Smith."

metaphysics, Saturday recitations on Paley's Evidences of Christianity followed by dismal Puritan sabbath, relieved by periodic religious revivals and tremendous drinking bouts; literary and debating societies encouraged, and Greek letter fraternities discouraged by the faculty; well selected libraries of ancient and modern classics (Voltaire locked up); botanizing and fossil hunting excursions over the countryside, ingenious hazing and amusing pranks, but no organized sports. So long as a college education meant the traditional liberal arts and three philosophies, no great equipment was necessary and a school in the country where living was cheap could attract more students than an urban college, and almost as good teachers. During a good part of this period, Amherst, Dartmouth and Union Colleges had as many or more students than Harvard, Yale and Princeton. The average statesman and professional man of the Northern states completed his formal education at a small college, whose curriculum in many instances was not equal to that of a first class secondary school today. Foreign visitors compared these institutions with Oxford, Cambridge or Goettingen and laughed or sneered. But for an integrated education, one that cultivates manliness and makes gentlemen as well as scholars, one that disciplines the social affections and trains young men to faith in God, consideration for his fellow man, and respect for learning, America has never had the equal of her little hill-top colleges." ⁹

Frederick Augustus Rauch began his connection with American educational development in 1832.

⁹ Morison and Commager. "Growth of the American Republic", v. 1, p. 409, 410.



Frederick Augustus Rauch

Marshall College and Franklin College were united as one institution in 1853. During these twenty years, the permanent foundations of the present college were laid.

When Rauch came to America, an exile from Germany, he was not entirely unknown. Though he had not been a member of the Heidelberg faculty at the time of Reverend Reily's visit, it is very possible that Reily may have established a contact between members of the theological faculty there and the Reformed church in Pennsylvania, since he received some assistance from Daub while he was in Heidelberg.

Rauch came first to Easton, bearing letters of introduction to Reverend Pomp. For a short time he gave lessons in music to support himself. He was appointed as professor of German at Lafayette College, but was called away immediately by the Synod of the Reformed church, which was then seeking a suitable director for its new classical school at York. Rauch's reputation was well established almost as soon as he arrived in this country, judging from a comment about him which stated, "The Rev'd Dr. Rauch, lately chosen professor of the German language, is one of the first classical scholars of his age in this country, and to his critical acquaintance with the classics, he has added a knowledge of the Sanskrit, which is the foundation of several of the languages of the East."¹⁰ Another recommendation of Rauch in 1832 said "He is the author of two Latin works, one "De Sophocles Electra," and the other "De Resurrectione mortuorum," which were published by the recommendation of three of

¹⁰ "Presbyterian", Phila. July 18, 1832.

the German universities. In the German language he published a work on the original identity of the Indoo, Persian, Pelasgic, German and Slavonic languages; and in addition to other writings on Philosophy and Theology, he is the author of a work on the ancient Persian and Sanscrit languages.”¹¹

In the fall of 1832, Rauch was appointed as Professor of Biblical Literature in the Seminary, and principal of the Classical Institution of the Reformed Church, at York. He was then twenty-six years old, distinguished and intellectual in his appearance. He did not speak English fluently. He took over the responsibilities of his new duties with much enthusiasm, and planned almost immediately to continue his writing.

In 1835 this school was moved from York to Mercersburg, and was incorporated as Marshall College, named in honor of Chief Justice John Marshall. The decision to raise the ranking of the institution may have been due to the fact that the Lutheran church had, in 1832, established a college at Gettysburg. The decision to establish the new school at Mercersburg was made after detailed discussion of three offers from different towns, Mercersburg, Chambersburg and Lancaster. It went to the highest bidder, although various inducements were offered. The town of Chambersburg offered ground worth \$4000, and \$6000 in subscriptions. They had an academy there, established in 1797, and would have been glad to have had the new college associated with it.¹² Franklin College at Lancaster suggested a possible union, but the trustees reserved the right

¹¹ Ref. Church Messenger, Dec. 1832.

¹² Acts and Proceedings of the Synod, 1835, p. 19, p. 22

to act as sole trustees, and promised only to elect the officers of the classical school, making no guarantees for the Professor of German in the Seminary. Their finances they described as including \$18,000 worth of land, \$6,000 in houses and lots in Lancaster, and \$3,000 in cash. They also offered their library, but gave no description of its value. This amounted to \$27,000 on paper, but most of the cash would have had to be spent in repairs immediately.¹³

Mercersburg offered \$10,000 in cash. "Its location is healthy and surrounded with scenery at once stirring and beautiful . . . The town is moral, the inhabitants industrious, and boarding low."¹⁴ The Synod accepted the Mercersburg offer. The Theological Seminary remained in York for a short time, under the direction of Dr. Mayer, while the handful of students and two professors, Dr. Rauch and Professor Samuel Budd, removed their school to the new location in the Franklin County hills.

Here Marshall College began, with two departments, a college and a preparatory school. The college organization included five departments: Ancient languages and literature (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) ; Mathematics and natural sciences (chemistry, mineralogy, geology and botany) ; intellectual and moral sciences ; belles lettres and history ; German language and literature.

The college was aided greatly in its first years by a donation of \$10,000, later increased to \$12,000, from the Pennsylvania legislature. Not all of the money promised by the citizens of Mercersburg was paid, but additional funds came in gradually. The

¹³ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 18, p. 25.

record of the school during its three years at York showed a loss of more than two thousand dollars, but at Mercersburg, it began in reasonably comfortable circumstances, and its faculty and student body slowly increased in numbers.¹⁵

Dr. Rauch's influence at Marshall College from the time of his arrival until his sudden death in 1841 was far-reaching. His new college began on an intellectual plane as worthy as that of Heidelberg. His personality made a deep and lasting impression upon those with whom he came into contact. "His face and head were purely German in shape, his forehead prominent and his backhead retreating . . . He resembled somewhat the pictures that we have of Schleiermacher, only his features were rounder, less angular, and showed more feeling and imagination . . . His eyes were bright and moved about in their orbits with the rapidity of his own thoughts." ¹⁶ His fondness for music gave him a personal contact with many students at the college, and the wide variety of his interests made him a fascinating lecturer.¹⁷

¹⁵ See report on Affairs of Classical Institute in "Acts and Proceedings of the Synod," 1835, p. 51.

¹⁶ Appel, Theo., "College Recollections" p. 211.

¹⁷ Rauch's career at Marshall College was not entirely without controversy. Letters of Bernard Wolff intimated that some members of the church disagreed with his theological principles, and even hint at a bitter dispute in Synod which may have disheartened him deeply. It is well-known that when Dr. Lewis Mayer came to Mercersburg in 1838 as professor of Theology, to work with Rauch, that there were sharp conflicts between the two men with regard to their respective theological systems. (Dubbs Ref. Ch. p. 299) At the meeting of Synod in Philadelphia in 1839 (Acts and proceedings p. 54 et seq.) a committee reported that students in the seminary were dropping out because they objected to Mayer's theology, and that only three remained. "The consequence of these results," they stated "we fear will be to deprive us of the future services of our able and worthy professor and to give rise to other serious evils." A secret meeting of Synod was held, (Weekly Mess. Oct. 9, 1839) Dr. Mayer resigned, apparently with some bitterness and two other appointees, Reverends Becker and Helfenstein refused to accept the position. Dr. Nevin of another denomination was eventually induced to accept.

Dr. John W. Nevin came to Mercersburg, as professor of Theology in the Seminary shortly before Rauch's untimely death. The contact between these two men, the first and second presidents of Marshall College had much to do with establishing the permanence of Rauch's influence. Rauch represented the German philosophy of Europe; Nevin brought to Marshall College a contemporary Anglo-American point of view in theology. Each had a high respect for the other's talent and learning; each profited by the association, companionship and exchange of ideas. Dr. Nevin took up the leadership of the college without altering the standard which Rauch had established; but he added to the distinctly European viewpoint of Rauch a practical application for contemporary American life.

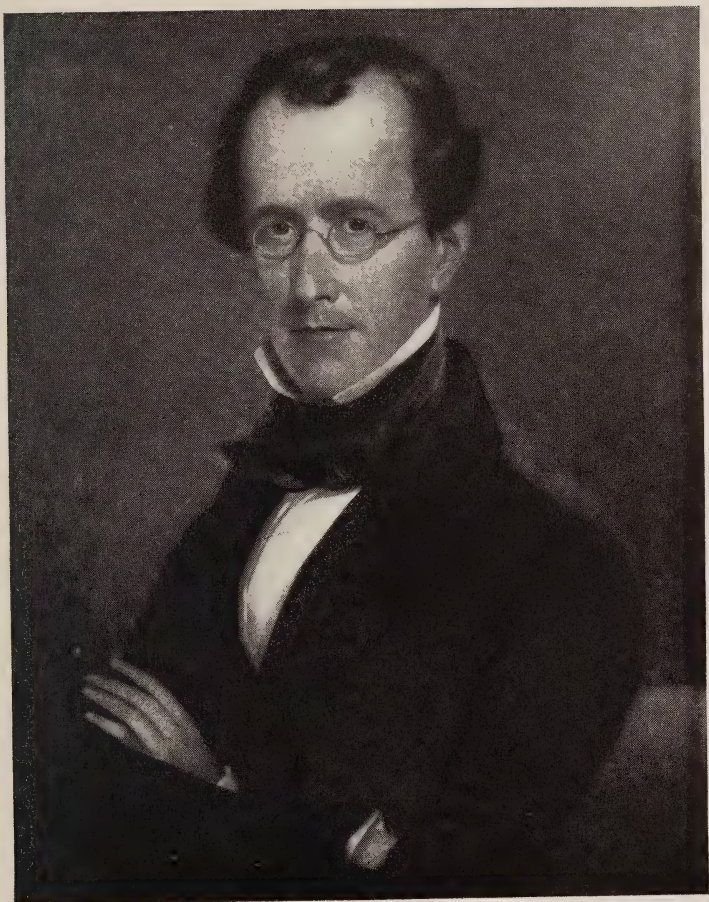
Dr. Nevin was selected, after Dr. Mayer resigned from the Theological Seminary, as the result of a movement in the Synod favoring a leader from another denomination. He had just resigned as professor of Theology in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and was reluctant to accept the new position at first. As the result of a personal appeal made to him by two men who crossed the Pennsylvania mountains by sleigh in the middle of winter to persuade him, he decided to take the position. His background was purely Scotch-Irish. He was born near Shippensburg, Penna., on February 20th, 1803, and attended Union College in New York, entering at the age of fourteen. He later studied theology at Princeton, where

There is no mention in the Synod records of anything reflecting upon Dr. Rauch. The discussion at this private session of Synod, however, must have touched upon matters close to his heart, if we are to judge from comments written shortly after his death.

he became particularly interested in Oriental Literature and Hebrew. After teaching at Princeton Seminary for a short time, he was called to the Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, as professor of Biblical Literature. He was then only twenty-seven years old. Here he wrote profusely, and was concerned as much with contemporary moral and social problems of the day as with theology. He remained in Allegheny for ten years.

He was an active and zealous man. In an age when reform movements in various fields occupied the center of attention in every community, when teachers and preachers used their desks and pulpits to take up real problems of American life, when humanitarianism was in the full swing of its early development, Nevin took up the temperance movement with a vigor that was uncompromising. He espoused the anti-slavery cause, in various addresses and publications, in so earnest a manner that he was once spoken of as "the most dangerous man in all Pittsburgh."¹⁸ He was not by any means a fanatic on either question, but his training and ancestry led him to introduce honestly, if not always tactfully, his sincere opinions on questions which were extremely controversial at the time. Abolition and anti-slavery in particular were not safe subjects for pulpit discussion in many communities in the 1830's. They could not even be discussed in Congress for a time. But Nevin, earnestly but dispassionately felt that slavery was a moral evil and that it should be opposed. It is a tribute to him that the Presbyterian church allowed him to express his beliefs so fre-

¹⁸ Appel, Theo., "Life and Work of John W. Nevin" p. 71.



John W. Nevin

quently and openly, when many others were held in silence on the same question.

Nevin succeeded Rauch as president of Marshall College, although he insisted that his official position was with the seminary only, and did not accept pay for his work with the college. Only a few years after he established himself at Mercersburg, another individual who was to have a profound influence on its history arrived. Dr. Philip Schaff came to Marshall College in 1844.

The coming of Dr. Schaff was recognized as an unusual occasion by the church, the Marshall College faculty and the students. When the Synod, in 1843, convened to select a German professor for the seminary, to succeed Dr. Rauch, it was decided first to call Reverend Dr. Krummacher, of Prussia, one of the most prominent preachers in Germany. Funds for this rather unusual plan were opportunely provided by a modest and quiet Pennsylvania German farmer in Berks County, Daniel Kieffer, who donated \$10,000 to the church suddenly and unexpectedly, as the result of a visit paid him by two delegates the previous evening. This was the first large private contribution the Reformed church had received for its endowment, and it was most timely, as the money which the state legislature had contributed was practically exhausted.

Two delegates were sent to Germany to convey the call to Dr. Krummacher, but he felt that his duty lay in Germany, and protests from the German church, and even from the King of Prussia had additional weight in causing him to decline.¹⁹ The delegates applied to prominent German theologians

¹⁹ Dubbs, *History of the Reformed Church*, p. 305.

for other suggestions, and Dr. Schaff, then *privat-docent* at the University of Berlin, was recommended.

Schaff, like Rauch, was very young. He had been born in the canton of Chur, in Switzerland in 1819. At the age of eighteen he entered the University of Tuebingen, and later attended Halle and Berlin. He became amanuensis to Dr. Neander, and was well acquainted with the theological leaders of Germany. He accepted the call from the German Reformed Church in a formal letter which was quite unusual, considering that he was but twenty-five years of age. He wrote, "I received your letter yesterday, the most important which I have ever received—a letter which will decide, in all probability, my history for all my future time on earth . . . If I were to look merely to myself, I might indeed tremble at the thought of engaging in such a vast field of labor, as is presented to my youthful abilities. But the Lord has taught me to look away from myself, and with the eye of faith and of full assurance to look to his Divine and Almighty strength . . . With this cheering confidence, I look forward to the future, even though that future should conceal within itself aught of clouds and of darkness. Armed with consolations like these, I shall be enabled to endure the pangs of separation from so many dear relatives, and brethren whom I am to leave behind me—from the beloved fatherland and many friends with whom my life has hitherto been intimately associated, and upon whom my fondest recollections and hopes have centered.

"And it is equally a matter for rejoicing with me, that another branch of my labors is to be Church

History . . . She it is, who, next to God's Word is the surest foundation, and upon which all expansive culture of the Church and Theology must rest, if she is not to be built upon the sand. These very departments—Exegesis and Ecclesiastical History—are those which possess with me the greatest attractions, and which I consider also of essential importance to the most fruitful development of the Church in North America . . .”²⁰

The arrival of Philip Schaff in Mercersburg was an exciting occasion for the college and the community. The prestige of German universities had grown during Rauch's decade of instruction, and the names of men with whom Schaff had worked were now familiar and famous. Students took a holiday to decorate the buildings and campus. An arch of evergreens was erected over the campus gate, and candles were placed in the windows of all the college and seminary buildings. At seven-thirty in the evening, a procession of students and citizens, accompanied by the Mercersburg Band, marched a half-mile out of town to a small hill, where they met the distinguished professor from Germany. “He was there received by the students in silence with their heads uncovered. As he passed through the long avenue of students, all ready to pay him their respects, the utmost decorum prevailed, though it had grown dark, and a large collection of individuals of all classes from the town had assembled. The proper civilities having been passed, the procession returned to the Seminary with a scene before them such as Mercersburg has never perhaps witnessed. On the one side the

²⁰ Berlin, Dec. 6th, 1843. Ref. Church Mess. Feb. 7. 1844.

Preparatory Building presented a blazing front, while the Seminary on the other, filled with lights, which were reflected from the massive pillars in front hung with evergreens, with its cupola gleaming with light far above the scene, presented an array of positive grandeur.”²¹ After the formal presentation, the students seem to have lost some of their awe, and appeared, later in the evening with their instruments to serenade the new Doctor with German songs. As they withdrew, they delivered their “vivat Professor,” which was answered from the window by a “vivant studiosi.”

Dr. Schaff was installed on October 25, 1844 and was connected with both the college and the seminary. He was primarily a church historian, and was extremely active in literary work. Among his most valuable writings were a “History of the Apostolic Church,” published in German and later in English; a German hymnbook; “Germany, its Universities and Divines”; “America”; and his well known “History of the Christian Church.”

Student life and student activities showed some effects of their European tutelage. The daily schedule and the curriculum did not differ greatly from those of any small American college during this period, but there were certain distinctive features which indicated the influence of the faculty.

A thorough and appreciative understanding of the German language was fostered to a large extent by the fact that the first president and most distinguished scholar, Dr. Rauch, was a native German, and more accustomed to the expression of his ideas in that tongue than in English. German itself was

²¹ Ref. Church Messenger Aug. 21, 1844.

no novelty in any part of Pennsylvania, but the German language in connection with higher education was not commonly found. English literature and English philosophy were naturally expected, but the influence of Rauch, in opening a new vista of German learning, hitherto practically unknown to young students, was of unusual interest. As Charles Follen had opened this new world to Harvard, Rauch opened it to Marshall College. A student wrote, "If any of us had entered the school with prejudices against the language, on account of the dialect which we were accustomed to hear on the streets, or for less worthy reasons, we were soon cured of such impressions, when we were confronted with the language in its purity, not inferior to that of Homer or Plato, and a literature superior to that of Greece and Rome. As spoken by Dr. Rauch, it was rich, mellifluous and musical. Our prejudices still further gave way as we heard and learned something of Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Neander, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Goethe, Schiller, Richter, Lessing and others . . . Thus encouraged and surrounded by such an atmosphere, the students—many of them, not all, prosecuted the study of German with considerable zeal. Our objective point was to read Schiller, Goethe and other giants in the German pantheon for ourselves. This was a wise direction given to our studies which no one of us ever had occasion to regret. It gave us one of the advantages of study at Mercersburg, which was probably not enjoyed in any other institution, at the same time in the United States. Some of us, we think, would now say that our acquisition of the German language has been of more advantage to

us than our knowledge of Greek, Latin or of any other single branch; and that it is one of the last that we would now be willing to sacrifice." ²²

The independent literary activities of the Marshall College students included a German Literary Society, "Die Deutsche Literarische Gesellschaft," which was formed to give the students practise in composition, oratory and debate in the German language. The Literary Society eventually divided into two societies, one named for Rauch and the other for Schiller, and made a permanent contribution to the college by collecting respective libraries of the best available German classics.

Literary societies were characteristic of all American colleges at the time. Most of the good-natured rivalry which exists today between athletic, fraternal and social organizations on the campus was expressed in the 'forties through these societies. At Marshall College, from its beginning, two English societies, the Diagnothian and the Goethean, exerted a large amount of influence upon the student body, the faculty and even the board of Trustees. Both societies had been organized in 1835 at the High School in York, shortly before the removal to Mercersburg. Rauch, delighted to find one of the societies named in honor of Germany's greatest poet, took an active interest in the work of the Goethean Society. The respective activities of the societies were interesting and sometimes amusing, but their most permanent work was achieved through the collection of books for their society libraries. Members subscribed small donations for the purchase of books that were particularly wanted, and contri-

²² Appel, Theo., College Recollections, p. 145.

butions of books were often sent from various parts of the country. Both societies vied with each other for the honor of securing the most distinguished "honorary members", and the lists were impressive, including the names of John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, John Tyler, William Cullen Bryant, Lincoln, Buchanan, John Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Longfellow, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper and many others.

Among the students, 'spiritual life reflected the trend of the times. The revival movement, which was widespread in the United States just then, affected the college for a brief period, chiefly as a novelty. Students came from various sections of the country and brought differing religious ideas with them. Sunday services in the chapel were a regular part of the college program. For a brief time prayer meetings were organized and held by the students, as the result of a suggestion made by a tutor who had come from New England, but they were not successful until Dr. Traill Green re-organized them. Another more independent phase of student religious activity was their participation in Sunday School work. Many of them conducted Sunday school classes in nearby towns, or even went into mountain settlements and obtained good practise in both oratory and theology.

Not until the coming of Dr. Schaff was much attention given to religious Holy Days. Christmas was an occasion for celebration, but it was not particularly a religious one. Schaff, amazed that no attention was paid to Good Friday, insisted that "it should be observed in some solemn way in the institutions, to which we all assented, as we agreed

with him in theory. He was most eloquent in his discourse on the day when it came, which was probably the first Good Friday that had ever been observed in Mercersburg.”²³

The faculty at Marshall College between 1835 and 1853 included many interesting personalities. Samuel Budd, a Princeton graduate, became professor of mathematics and worked with Dr. Rauch from the start of the institution at York. Professor William M. Nevin, brother of John W. Nevin, graduated from Dickinson, studied both medicine and law, and became professor of Ancient Languages and Belles Lettres in 1840. His interest in the student's command of English, and his gracious personality, made him one of the most respected members of the faculty, and he continued his connection with the institution until his death in 1892. Dr. Traill Green, graduate in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania, came to Marshall College in 1841 as professor of Natural Science. The subject was still rather new, and students followed it enthusiastically under his direction. Of almost equal value, however, was his leadership in religious activities. He was succeeded after 1848 by Dr. Thomas C. Porter, who had studied theology at Princeton. His interests were wide and varied, including English literature, the classics, poetry and botany. An ardent explorer, he was one of the first authorities in the state of Pennsylvania on the science of botany, and his collections were among the most important in the country.

Other professors at Marshall College were Professor Thomas D. Baird, in mathematics, mechanical

²³ Appel, Theo., College Recollections, p. 167.

philosophy and political economy; Rev. Joseph Berg, professor of ancient languages for a short time; Professor Edward Bourne, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who taught Latin and Greek; Professor Albert Smith, a graduate of Cambridge; and Reverend Gardiner Jones.

The history of Marshall College ended in 1853, when it was combined with Franklin College in Lancaster. During the seventeen years of its existence, it saw the development of a very distinctive correlation between three schools of thought—American, German and English, and three fields of culture—philosophy, theology and history. While there were many colleges being established during this period, there were few which were as fortunate in their initial leadership.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE SPIRITUAL AND EDUCATIONAL IDEALS OF MARSHALL COLLEGE

Dr. Rauch brought to Marshall College and to the students who were to go out from there not so much a new philosophy of his own, but rather a very clear interpretation of the philosophy of Germany, which was just beginning to permeate American educational life, and of which he was one of the most capable exponents who had come to America. Students and associates of Dr. Rauch at Marshall College were almost a generation ahead of their time, for it was not until the eighteen-fifties that the philosophers of the German Romantic movement began to influence American life and letters to any appreciable extent. But the atmosphere at Marshall College was not entirely German by any means. The influence of Dr. John Nevin, and of Dr. William Nevin as well, introduced one of the most typically American of all the Pennsylvania nationalities—the Scotch-Irish background. As an active social reformer, and a staunch Presbyterian, Dr. John Nevin was in active touch with the changing American scene before he came to Marshall College. He and his colleague, Dr. Schaff, implanted firmly and permanently the theory of historical development, applied particularly to the history of the church. A few years later the work of Charles Darwin was to popularize the evolutionary concept in many fields, but in the forties the developmental idea was new

and rather startling. Accustomed for generations to consider the Reformation as the beginning of the entire Protestant church, it was somewhat of a revelation to consider the Protestant movement as only one phase of a long evolutionary development which included all phases of Christian origins. It was stimulating to some; to others it verged on heresy. Dr. Nevin welcomed the controversies and Dr. Schaff's articles were usually too logical for much successful refutation. Between them, they established a new and more inclusive interpretation of history, which is still the chief basis back of the "new history" of more recent days—the importance of historical perspective, and the all-inclusive nature of history as related to human experience.

Dr. Rauch's chief contributions were in the field of mental science, in connection with psychology, theology and philosophy. Coming from the center of German philosophical development, he continued studies in America which had been planned or begun in Germany. It soon became apparent that he was a far different type of scholar from many of those usually associated with theological study in Pennsylvania. He brought with him from nineteenth century Germany a clear and thorough understanding of European philosophy which had hardly made an impression upon American thought at this early stage. Hegel and Kant were not remote and foreign to him, but constituted the very core of his intellectual background. Neither was he handicapped by any pessimism as to what the college might accomplish, as was the case with some members of the church who remembered unsatisfactory experiences in the past. He had some conception, from his

European work, of what a college could, and should accomplish.

Dr. Nevin wrote of him, "I perceived soon that his learning and intellectual power were of a higher order altogether than I had before felt authorized to accept. . . I could not but look upon it as a strange and interesting fact that the infant college of the German Reformed Church should have placed at its head, there in Mercersburg—without care or calculation or consciousness even on the part of its friends generally—one of the very first minds of Germany, which under other circumstances might well have been counted an ornament and honor to the oldest institution in the land." ¹

While he unconsciously stimulated faculty and students to an entirely new ideal of mental achievement, he continued his own work with the painstaking industry of a German university scholar. He planned a history of "Neology in Germany," soon after his arrival in York. He edited German literature; he wrote and delivered numerous addresses, translated a Greek grammar, and spent much time in the preparation of his most important work—"Psychology; or a View of the Human Soul, including Anthropology, being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered to the Junior Class, Marshall College." Rauch described this work as the first attempt to unite German and American mental philosophy. It was also the first published work on Psychology in America which treated the subject as a scientific field suitable for textbook study. Several universities adopted it immediately.

Rauch's "Psychology" was clear and readable, due

¹ Nevin, J. W. "Eulogy", p. 11.

in part to the fact that much of the material had been prepared for oral delivery. His breadth of background is shown by the numerous classical allusions with which his theories were illustrated. It represented the practical application of a new metaphysical point of view to a science which was just beginning to be recognized in America. Rauch stated that one of his objects was to "give the science of man a direct bearing upon other sciences, and especially upon religion and theology. Psychology and theology are connected by their common subject, which is man. Religion, of which theology is the science, is intended for man, and for him only; psychology treats of man and not of any other being. Man as the subject of psychology is created for religion and cannot do without it. Religion is not a mere quality, but the substance of man. He remains what he is, though he has no learning, no beauty, no wit, neither a strong memory nor an acute judgment; but he ceases to be a man in the full sense of the term when he has no religion;—he is then only an animal, more cunning, crafty and prudent than all the others, one that can invent machines, but he is no longer the lord of the earth, the image of his Creator . . . Psychology develops the nature of reason, and without understanding the nature of reason, and its capacities, that of faith will not be clearly known." ² He speaks also of the importance of psychology to the medical and legal professions, to parents and teachers, and of its interest in itself as a study.

He intended to follow this work on psychology immediately with a work on "Christian Ethics," but

² Preface to Rauch's "Psychology," N. Y. 1841, 2nd ed.

his plans were ended by his sudden death on March 2, 1841.

With Dr. Rauch the educational philosophy of the college really begins; and it is a very significant fact that through generation after generation, for the next hundred years, there remains a continuity in the idealism of certain teachers, which can be traced directly from teacher to student or associate with scarcely a break.

Former educational experiments with Franklin College in Lancaster, and with other schools, had been based principally on the theory that the college was to exist to train young men to become cultured ministers. Dr. Rauch expressed a point of view which still remains a very modern one. "The aim of the institution is to furnish a liberal education," he wrote, "which shall prepare the student for any vocation in life."³ His curriculum recommended the study of ancient and modern languages, mathematics, moral, intellectual and natural sciences, history and literature. "Education for future usefulness" was the theme of his entire plan. "The student must learn to go through what is difficult as well as what is easy. At the same time the student must be roused to independent action. It will be necessary that he learn to think for himself, to judge, to make what he has learned his own, by comprehending and applying it."

It is surprising to note how practical and prophetic his ideas of a truly liberal education really were, and it is equally interesting to trace the consistent application and development of his ideas on higher education in the continuing history of the institu-

³ "Ref. Church Messenger," Jan. 25, 1837.

tion. An address of Dr. Rauch's, delivered before the students of Marshall College⁴ and the citizens of Mercersburg, became a charter for liberal education in the later life and history of the college.

Education was an individual affair, he believed, making men conscious of their independence. It was an active affair, in which each individual "must do everything for himself." He emphasized education also as a social affair. "Mind only can awaken mind. We must be among men to become men; we must be acted upon. This mutual influence of men exerted on each other we call education in its widest sense."

While he emphasized education primarily as training of the mind, he was two generations ahead of his time in insisting that "a good education should satisfy the demand of the physical as well as the intellectual nature of a student. If we neglect doing so, society suffers not only a loss, but a direct injury."

Finally, his understanding of the relation between utility and liberal culture was keen and definite. "Everyone is ready to make the remark that the purpose of education is and must be usefulness. Teach those things which can be applied in future life and omit what life does not call for. Though on the whole I agree perfectly with this opinion, yet the term 'usefulness' is vague, indefinite, and varies in its meaning according to the character of individuals and ages."

"Whatever answers as means for the satisfaction of our wants we call useful, be these wants sensual

⁴ Delivered in 1837; First published in 1858, Mercersburg Rev. July, pp. 443-454.

or spiritual. In an age when every one thinks only of his own advantage and interest, and seeks for those means that will lead him to riches, to the gratification of his ambition or his vanity—in such a time the term usefulness is a precarious one. If it becomes the idol of all our institutions of education, nothing will any longer be considered good on its own account.”

The ultimate aim of a liberal education, as Dr. Rauch saw it, was the harmonious cultivation of the entire man. “Life needs the entire man; we must be active not only with the head but also with the heart; not only with the will but also with the hand. Knowledge without the cultivation of the will, a good head with a bad heart, what can it avail us. The future of our lives and our government depends not exclusively on useful knowledge, but on our character as citizens; and to form this character by cultivating the whole man, is the aim of education in the proper sense.”

“That man is cultivated who is free, not only externally by law, but free by his will. There must be harmony between knowledge and will if there is to be symmetrical cultivation of the entire man. For this reason the selection of subjects to be taught ought to be liberal.”

Dr. Rauch’s educational philosophy is summed up by the statement that knowledge and action are united in love—love for the subject taught, love of truth and of goodness, independently of purely selfish calculations—this is the idealistic motive that forms the background of the thinking of the first president of Marshall College.

Dr. Nevin was an earnest student of theology. Very shortly before he was called to Mercersburg, he became interested in what was to be later known as the "Oxford Movement", and he studied this school of thought carefully, although he did not adopt it completely. "I saw," he wrote, "(what I had not believed before), that there was deep intelligent conviction at work in the Oxford movement; that the men concerned in it were neither fools, nor visionaries, nor hypocrites; and there flashed upon me, at the same time, some sense of the profoundly earnest religious problem which they were wrestling with, and in their way endeavoring to solve. That was all. But where I then stood, in the way of seed thought, this was much."⁵

When he wrote accepting his new position at Marshall College, he explained his reasons for leaving his own denomination, and taking the presidency of a Seminary so definitely associated with the German church. In speaking of the difficulty which he had in making up his mind to accept, he said, "I have felt that it is my duty to obey the voice of your Synod . . . Though not a German by birth, I feel a sort of kindred interest in that people which could hardly be stronger were I one of themselves. My childhood and early youth were spent in close familiar communion, with German manners and German modes of thought. The social state, that served as an educational mold for my spirit in its softest age, was characteristically German . . . In later life my attention has been drawn to their Language and Literature. These have awakened a new interest in their favor, and brought me into a still more exten-

⁵ Ref. Church Messenger, June 16, 1870.

sive fellowship with the peculiarities of the national mind . . . I give myself over wholly to the German Reformed Church, and find no difficulty whatever in making her interest my own. No church can boast a purer creed or a better ecclesiastical framework. None exhibits a richer intellectual ore, available in the same way for purposes of religion.”⁶

The turning point in his intellectual life came with his discovery of the theory of development in history, which he found in the writings of Neander, the great church historian of Germany. He had heard of Neander, while at Princeton, vaguely and indirectly. He became interested enough to take up the study of German, in order to find out more about him; and when he was able to read the clear and vivid history of the Christian church by this stimulating writer, it gave him a completely new conception of the entire progress of Christianity. He admitted that he found the study of church history at Princeton dull and lifeless and discouraging, until he discovered through Neander’s writings, that the problems of the past were as real as the problems of the present. “I learned to understand the old Christian fathers,” he wrote. “They were no longer to me the puzzling mysteries they had been before . . . Even the old Christian heresies were made to partake in the general benefit of this historical illumination. They appeared no longer as the freaks of brainless folly or diabolical madness . . . What was chaos rose into a world of at least comparative order and light, full of profound instruction, and worthy of diligent study for all following times.”⁷

⁶ Ref. Church Messenger, March 18, 1840.

⁷ Life, pp. 81-83.

It is easy to see why Rauch welcomed Nevin when the two first met, and to understand Nevin's appreciation of Rauch's scholarship. Rauch must have felt isolated before Nevin's arrival, perhaps a bit doubtful whether the gap between the intensive scholastic life of European universities and the comparatively primitive situation of early Marshall College could ever be bridged. Nevin, an enthusiastic student of German theology was undoubtedly an encouragement and stimulus to him, as he realized that there was a sympathetic intellectual interest here which made it possible for him to talk freely and easily on subjects which had hitherto been somewhat remote to his immediate associates.

Dr. Nevin was intensely interested in certain phases of the High Church movement which spread through England and the United States during these years. He did not sympathize with all phases of it by any means, but he did see in it certain desirable features. Broad and liberal in his viewpoint, he denounced "nominal Protestants" who stubbornly disdained all ritual for fear it might be "Romanism." Considering the religious excitement of the times, he was bold indeed to recommend a common perspective which Catholic, Anglican and Protestant denominations might adopt. "The last resort is offered in the idea of historical development," he wrote, "by which without prejudice to Catholicism in its own order and sphere or to Protestantism next as a real advance on this in modern times, though with the full acknowledgement of the faults and views of both systems, it is assumed that the whole present state of the Church is transitional and interimistic . . . We have no patience with that bald

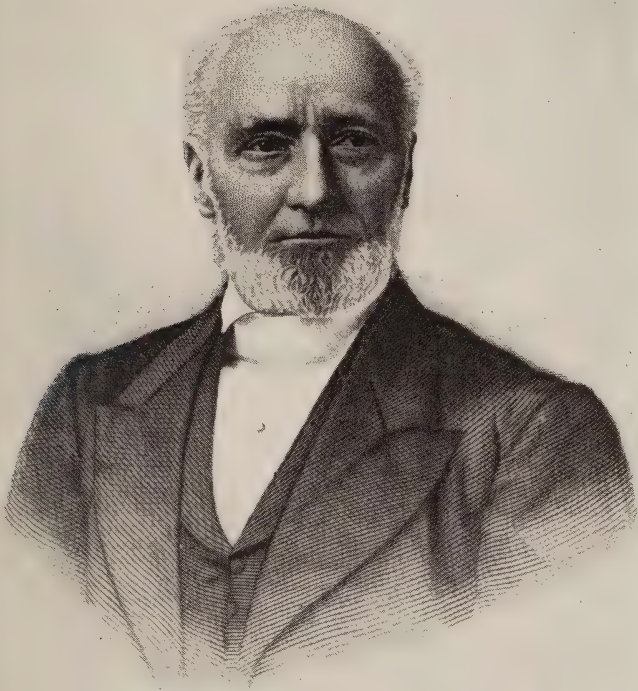
Puritanism, which fairly buries the Church for a thousand years and more, in order to bring it to a more striking resurrection in the sixteenth century. If it came to a necessary choice between such a view and Romanism, the advantage lies decidedly, we think, on the side of this last . . . We may cast ourselves upon the theory of historical development, so as to make Protestantism itself, with all its painfully acknowledged miseries, the main, though by no means exclusive stream, by which the general tide of the original Christian life is rolling itself forward, not without fearful breaks and cataracts, and many tortuous circuits, to the open sea at last of that grand and glorious ideal of true Catholic unity, which has been in the mind of all saints from the beginning.”⁸ Obviously, this was not what one might have expected from the German pietists a generation earlier.

Rauch was philosophical, Nevin was idealistic, and Philip Schaff was practical. “With him philosophy and even theology had no interest or value apart from their actual bearings on the welfare and the progress of society.”

Thwing said of Dr. Schaff that “he represented one of the richest and apparently enduring influences which Germany had given to the higher and the religious life of America.”⁹ Dr. Schaff had studied at Tuebingen, Halle and Berlin, and brought to Marshall College the training and the viewpoint which had been instilled in him by some of the greatest European theologians and philosophers—Neander, Ranke, Strauss and Schelling. A friend

⁸ *Mercersburg Review*, July 1851; *Life*, pp. 319-320.

⁹ Thwing, C. F. “The American and the German University” p. 95.



Philip Schaff

wrote to him, on learning that he might come to America, "It is most important for that young country, not only that colonists and material forces be sent her, but that her intellectual and spiritual life be fostered by old Europe. Especially do I think it exceedingly important that German theological scholarship be represented there. Only through that channel can the Germans be expected to make that full contribution to the American nationality and institutions which they are able to make, and the German-American church will only then show its peculiar strength when it yields to the theological science her rightful place." ¹⁰

Schaff was enthusiastic over the possibilities of American intellectual development. He seems to have planned from the beginning to furnish America with the best possible results of German theological study. With his characteristic industry, he was undoubtedly the most active of the three men. He wrote out his lectures for small groups of students, "as thoroughly—as *vollstaendlich* and *gruendlich*—as if he were lecturing to the largest audiences of *studiosi* in the universities at Halle and Berlin." ¹¹ His historical work in connection with church history continued throughout his entire life.

Dr. Schaff later became professor of Theological Encyclopedia and Christian Symbolism at Union Theological Seminary in New York, and received enthusiastic commendation for his publications. Harnack said that his "Church History" was the most notable monument of universal historical

¹⁰ Schaff, D. "Life of Philip Schaff" p. 75.

¹¹ Apple, Theo. "Life of John W. Nevins", p. 266.

learning produced by the school of Neander.¹²

The fact that these three unusual men were at Mercersburg during this particular period of American history is significant. "The distinctive feature of the American people in 1830," wrote Albert Bushnell Hart, "is the religious and philanthropic life and experiences of the time . . . In most communities, next to getting a living, the most important thing in life was religion, or at least religious observances."¹³

In New England, Puritan traditions still existed in connection with religious customs and emphasis upon religious life. But in other parts of the country, particularly along the frontier line, a new movement in religion developed, characterized most prominently by "revivals" and the waves of religious zeal which kept religion prominent in the daily life of the entire community. In the schools and colleges, new religious "systems" were numerous and varied. Missionary activity had become a prominent phase of the activity of every denomination. A miscellaneous collection of philosophy, theology and logic was applied to all religious teaching. "The chief characteristic of the religious life of the time was its sincere effort to make religion effective, to apply the touchstone of Christ's teachings and life to all moral questions, to make individual and community correspond to the principles of Christianity. Hence, in a country where all forms of state aid to religion disappeared, church

¹² Schaff, D. "Life" p. 467.

¹³ Hart, A. B. "American Social Characteristics", p. 321.

buildings were multiplied, missionaries were supported, denominational colleges sprang up. To the amiable it was an unspeakable grief that millions of people should be doomed to everlasting perdition because the gospel had not been brought to their ears; and one of the main taproots of abolition was the feeling of horror and responsibility that hundreds of thousands of negro slaves, because outside the fold of accredited believers, should be going down to the pit of endless punishment.”¹⁴

With such activity in the field of religion, as it applied to the life of the individual, it is not strange that the energy and enthusiasm of these men at Mercersburg should have had widespread influence. Out of their teachings and beliefs, there developed a theological system of their own, which became known as the “Mercersburg Theology”. It proved to be a permanent contribution to American theology, and attracted much attention from other sections of the country.

The Mercersburg system, or Mercersburg theology, was not merely a local development. Through the publications of Dr. Nevin and Dr. Schaff—the former in the “Mercersburg Review” and the latter in the “Kirchenfreund”—the doctrine became a subject of wide discussion. Essentially, it taught that “Christ saves the world, not ultimately by what he teaches, but by what He is in the constitution of His person.”¹⁵ It emphasized the unity and sanctity of the church, and deplored the belief that Protestantism, as it existed at that time, had fulfilled its

¹⁴ Hart, *Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹⁵ Quoted in Dubbs, “History of Franklin and Marshall College,” p. 206.

complete mission. It laid stress upon the Christian education of the youth.

Dr. Nevin developed this movement through his various religious tracts, and more particularly through articles in the "Mercersburg Review", which he edited until 1853, and in which most of his controversial articles appeared. In 1848, Dr. Schaff began the publication of a more significant periodical—"Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund"—a monthly magazine, devoted to the interests of the German churches in America. Type and printer were imported from Germany.

"Der Kirchenfreund" was published in German, and began in January 1848. In the introductory article of the first issue, "Was wir Wollen," Schaff stated his aims and purposes. He believed that the magazine should have originated in a large city like New York or Philadelphia, but it was intended for the entire group of German Christians in America even if its home was in a comparatively small village.

"The number of Germans in the United States," he wrote, "together with their descendants, number from three million. Three-fourths of these belong to the Protestant denomination. And yet how small in relation to their number has been the spiritual and religious influence which they have exercised in this land up to this time. How small an influence have our hundred year old churches had in comparison to their English neighbors. How many of our most influential people together with their descendants have been lost to other denominations.

"The reasons for this fact are many. First is the conflict of languages, and the tension which

inevitably results from the transition of one to the other. Then there is the dearth of cultural institutions. This is due to the practical misfortune of our immigrants in depending upon the State for all church needs. The result is a weakening of individual responsibility. Then again there is the mass of unbelief and religious indifference, which is brought over from the old world.

"More especially, however, the situation is due to the scattering of the Germans over every part of the new world, and the inner separations due to sect-spirit.

"Is it not high time to make the attempt to concentrate into cooperative effort, the isolated scientific and religious influences which are in danger of being lost in the ocean of American life? In spite of their differences, the German Christians in America have much in common. They speak the same language, they have the same origin, they have the same thought patterns and 'Gemuetlichkeit'; they share in the development of the religious life of their old home and desire to see its advance in their adopted country."

"Der Kirchenfreund" contained many historical articles by Dr. Schaff, contributions from various sources dealing with theological problems of the denomination, and an attitude throughout which indicated that a period of regeneration within the German churches was at hand.

Thus the idea of progress, or of historical development, had three able scholars to support it at Marshall College, several decades before the evolutionary philosophy of Darwin was to affect practically all fields of science in a similar manner. Rauch found

a continuity in philosophy; Nevin discovered the growth of Christianity to be the result of various stages of development, of which the Protestant Reformation was only one step, and Schaff advocated an historical perspective which was to become more and more logical in later generations—a view of the past which made it as real as the present, and a view of the present which made it merely another stage in the progress of the world towards its future.

This theory of continuity was introduced by Rauch, Nevin and Schaff in philosophy, theology and history. It is a matter of more than coincidence that in the later history of Marshall College, and of Franklin and Marshall College, the respective philosophies of these three men were implanted firmly in the minds of various students, who in turn succeeded them on the faculty. Dr. E. V. Gerhart, one of the first graduates of Marshall College, who had studied under Rauch, became the first president of Franklin and Marshall College, and professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy. Dr. Thomas Gilmore Apple, had studied at Marshall College under Nevin and Schaff, and as a later president of the college, became an enthusiastic exponent of its philosophy.

Such were the men whose twenty-odd years of association at Marshall College were to establish standards and viewpoints which their students in turn supported in later years at the same institution. The period of enlightenment in the spiritual and educational life of the German population of Pennsylvania owed much to the three men who were most influential—a brilliant genius, exiled from a German university at the very start of his intel-

lectual maturity; a practical, broad-minded and straight-forward American theologian, who searched the philosophies of Germany, England and America for the ideals which would best develop the *Aufklaerung* in America; and an industrious and carefully trained German scholar who found in America a fertile field for the exposition of his talent for research and historical interpretation.

CHAPTER NINE

THE UNION OF TWO COLLEGES

Franklin College had been chartered and conducted as a college for the Germans of Pennsylvania, under the joint supervision of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, and representative citizens. Marshall College was formed as an institution of higher learning under the direct supervision of the Reformed Church, and to some extent related to its theological seminary. The Lancaster college had been established as the result of a broad, general cooperative movement, and was designed to serve the general needs of the whole German population. The Mercersburg college was formed as the result of particular and definite needs, and served a more specialized field. Franklin College had been designed chiefly to provide educated ministers for German congregations, but it provided very few; Marshall College had been formed as a liberal arts college, and provided many ministers. Franklin College was a public trust, administered by a community. Marshall College was a "denominational" school, controlled by a Synod.

When the trustees of Franklin College in Lancaster purchased their new building, which had formerly been the Lancaster County Academy, they sold their former building, and planned a complete reorganization. Their new location was enlarged and improved, and affairs were administered by a committee of supervision. The coming of Fred-

erick Augustus Muhlenberg, grandson of Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, as professor of Languages at Franklin College in 1840 was a factor of some importance in its immediate progress, since he was well known in the community and throughout the Lutheran church. The college began to show signs of definite improvement. Books and scientific collections increased, a department of Law and Medical Jurisprudence was planned, and government publications were secured for the college through Thaddeus Stevens, who had recently moved from Gettysburg to Lancaster.

Previous suggestions of a union between Marshall College and Franklin College have been mentioned. The Reformed Church, although it admitted the desirability of a location in Lancaster, could not consider having its institution pass from the control of its Synod. Neither did the trustees of Franklin College care to dissolve their school by dividing its property between the Lutheran and Reformed churches, after they had guarded its interests so carefully, and painfully, for many years. In 1849, when they were considering the erection of a new building, the proposal was made that they divide their funds equally between the Reformed Marshall College at Mercersburg and the Lutheran Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg. This they did not care to do.

Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg presented an alternate plan which was more optimistic. Instead of division, he proposed union of the three schools. In December, 1849, he offered a resolution which invited Pennsylvania College and Marshall College to unite with Franklin College in Lancaster, "that an institution

with foundations broad and deep may be erected, sufficiently extensive to supply the wants and demands of the Germans of Pennsylvania and their descendants for whose benefit this corporation was erected.”¹ He added “Resolved that this institution is worthy of the honorable name she has assumed and will retain it. Since the year 1787, under adverse circumstances, she has sustained a classical and mathematical school, without participating in the bounty of the State. It is true she received 10,000 acres as a donation in waste lands from the State, but for many years worthless and expensive to the Corporation; nevertheless, by careful conduct and an economical policy, she has accumulated a capital of \$40,000, whilst other sister institutions, although sectarian and receiving the full bounty of the State, have failed.”

The merging of these three colleges would have been a most interesting venture, establishing on a much larger scale the same ideas which had been tried in connection with Franklin College in 1787. There was no whole-hearted enthusiasm for Muhlenberg's plan, however, perhaps because the Lutheran College at Gettysburg was established so firmly that removal would not be considered seriously.² The hope for inter-denominational unity, which Schaff and Nevin had both expressed is not indicated in the opinions voiced by either the Lutheran or Reformed groups. The Lutheran Observer stated that one denomination was absolutely necessary. “Let it be transferred wholly to the German Reformed,

¹ Dubbs, “History of Franklin and Marshall College,” p. 140.

² Pennsylvania College had an enrollment of 153 in 1851, according to their catalog of that year, and was in satisfactory financial circumstances.

or to the Lutherans; to which is to us a matter of no great moment; . . . commingling, under existing circumstances is utterly impracticable! But let this be done equitably. Let one buy out the other at a fair valuation and then there will be no reasonable ground of complaint. Then, no doubt, a flourishing College will spring up in Lancaster, and one permanently established . . . Then good feeling will be promoted among all the parties interested, and whichever denomination builds up the institution, the receding one can but bid a hearty God speed and the divine blessing may be expected to rest upon it. But carry out the plan now in agitation, and deep muttering and maledictions will follow those of either party who, having had it in their power, did not prevent the consummation of a scheme so manifestly unjust, while those same maledictions will rest upon and blight the fair prospects of the institution to the latest generation.”³

The Reformed Church did not express so definite an opinion, but the following editorial shows that they were not in favor of attempting joint administration of a reorganized institution. “If the union of Franklin and Marshall Colleges is to be consummated, we would greatly prefer, that the Lutheran Church would withdraw its interest from the united institution entirely and leave it wholly in the hands of the German Reformed Church. If, however, the Lutherans prefer to retain their interest in the united institution, and an amicable and equitable adjustment embracing this plan can be effected, which doubtless can, in that case, be done, we have no insuperable objection to it; and would

³ Quoted in Ref. Church Messenger, Jan. 23, 1850.

indulge the hope in that event, that the different interests represented in the institution will cooperate cordially together; and prove instrumental in bringing the two leading branches of the German church in this country, into that close and harmonious relation, which it is so desirable for their mutual interest that they should sustain to each other.”⁴

The Lutheran and Reformed churches had cooperated in connection with Franklin College for a period of sixty-three years. The Lutherans were now particularly interested in their own institution at Gettysburg. This marks the end of the cooperative experiment in education carried out by these two German denominations. From the days of the colonial period when it was first suggested by pastors of both churches, this joint plan had been followed with very little friction and few serious differences of opinion. It was a broad and tolerant spirit of cooperation which had maintained this effort for half a century, due in large part to the wisdom of men like Henry Muhlenberg, Rauch, Nevin and Schaff, who had a vision of Christian unity which was far ahead of their times. Their plan was now changed, not because of any lack of cooperation, but because it became apparent that their respective beginnings must be made on a smaller scale, with more concentrated, localized effort.

Marshall College was a direct outgrowth and a special need of the Reformed church, as was Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, in connection with the Lutheran church. Subsequent developments in American denominational history have shown that the time for the anticipated denominational cooper-

⁴ Ibid., Jan. 23, 1850.

ation was not yet ripe. It had been planned optimistically as early as the 18th century, but the field was not yet prepared for its growth.

The next step was the proposal, made by Reverend J. C. Bucher, that two-thirds of the funds of Franklin College would be used for Marshall College, if it were brought to Lancaster; and that the remaining one-third would be paid to the Lutheran church, with the understanding that it might be used for the endowment of a Lutheran professorship. After much discussion, and a detailed report by a committee consisting of three Lutheran and three Reformed members, the following plan was adopted: The two boards of trustees were to apply to the legislature for a new charter, incorporating "Franklin-Marshall" College⁵ in Lancaster. One-third of the Franklin College funds were to be paid directly to the Lutheran church, who were to transfer it to Pennsylvania College, for a professorship of ancient languages. The loss occasioned by this gift was to be replaced by the Reformed Church, which pledged itself to collect an equal amount to repay into the college treasury, (\$17,169.71). The city of Lancaster would subscribe \$25,000 to the new college, for the purchase of new ground, and the erection of buildings.

It is interesting to notice, through these years, the increasing importance of a college to its immediate community. Some years before, when Marshall College was considering a location in Mercersburg, various towns presented substantial

⁵ The name appeared as "Franklin Marshall" in local newspapers through 1850 and 1851. There were various discussions about the use of a hyphen before the name "Franklin and Marshall" was adopted.

bids to secure the institution. When the removal of Marshall College was contemplated in 1849, Frederick, Maryland entered the discussion as a claimant for the proposed institution. Expressing the hope that "a fair competition for the new location would be allowed," and the opinion that "Lancaster would not be without some formidable competition in its efforts to secure the location of Marshall College in its midst," a Frederick newspaper plead vigorously for a concerted effort to bring the college to that city. It offered, as inducements more attractive than those which Lancaster might offer, "direct communication with all parts of the Union, daily mails, freedom from that contamination with vice that always accompanies an institution in a large city, and an intelligent community which is now sending off her sons to a distance to complete that collegiate course which could under such a change be obtained at home." Also mentioned, for good measure, were "the Female Seminary and its chaste building," the German Reformed Church, and the gas and water works.⁶ Lancaster's offer of \$25,000, however, bore more weight with the committee.

Previously when the Classical School was being established in York, a citizen of that city presented a most practical analysis of the economic value of an educational institution to its community. Ignoring "the high value of literature and science, their tendency to enhance the enjoyments of life, and qualify the human mind for lofty soarings, above the little things of time," he considered the

⁶ Editorials reprinted in Ref. Church Mess., Jan. 23, 1850, from Frederick Examiner.

institution "as a source of pecuniary emolument." Each student, he estimated, would spend \$65 for boarding, thereby benefitting the butchers and flour merchants; each student would need one hat each year, at \$4; clothing, estimated at \$30; books, \$5; and the somewhat variable items listed as "Horse hire and other means of gratification, \$5"; and "Tavern keepers from parents, bringing and visiting their sons and spending a few days, \$100." All together, on the basis of 50 students and three professors, he estimated the income to the town as \$7,250 a year.⁷

Marshall College at this time needed money. In earlier days they had collected funds by granting, or "selling" tuition scholarships in return for cash payments of \$500. These existed in perpetuity, and passed from the subscriber to his heirs or assigns, or even into the open market on occasion. The natural result was that many students at Marshall College paid no funds into the institution, and sometimes passed their scholarships on to their friends after graduation, at a very low price. Franklin College, on the other hand, had carefully husbanded its funds, but had a small number of students.

When the prospect of union with Franklin College was first discussed, the trustees of Marshall College first took up the question of whether they were legally free to leave Mercersburg, considering that they had accepted the subscription of \$10,000 when they moved there. However, the promised subscription had not been paid in full by any means, and the Synod of the Reformed Church, debating

⁷ York County Farmer, Feb. 28, 1833.

the same question a short time later, decided, "that in the opinion of the Synod there is no legal or moral difficulty in the way of the removal of Marshall College to some other place."⁸ Needless to say, there was much objection on the part of the Mercersburg community, and no little indignation. The decision to unite with Franklin College at Lancaster was made, however, and the act of incorporation was passed by the legislature on the 19th of April, 1850.

Certain details of the proposed charter for the new college caused some disturbance in the city of Lancaster. Franklin College had been chartered originally to instruct students of both sexes, serving to some extent the function of a public, or "charity" school, and the directors of the common schools in Lancaster vigorously objected to having \$17,000 of the institution's money given to Pennsylvania College, or to a new institution. Several town meetings were held, before the petition was presented to the legislature, and school directors claimed that any funds of the college, if it was to be abolished or merged, should be turned over to the public schools, which they claimed could fulfill the original plan of the charter to a more satisfactory extent. There was no objection to the merger of the two schools in Lancaster, but there was a strong attempt to secure the funds entrusted in Franklin College.

The community loyally came to the assistance of the college in this instance. The school directors might have succeeded in preventing the presentation of the petition to the Legislature, had it not been for

⁸ Dubbs, "History of Franklin and Marshall College" p. 243; Acts and Proc. of the Synod. Jan. 30, 1850.

the initiative and the influence of a few far-sighted citizens. At a mass meeting held in the Lancaster Court House on March 4, 1850, at which more than a thousand citizens were present, Dr. John L. Atlee of Lancaster made a vigorous stand in support of the new plan. He presented resolutions "highly approving of the contemplated establishment of Franklin Marshall College," and recommended the full cooperation of the community. He called for a resolution to the effect that "any interference to alter the provisions of the proposed charter is inexpedient and unnecessary." After presenting his resolutions, he spoke at some length, outlining the provisions of the original charter of 1787, and pointing out that little good had resulted from the institution up to the present time, due to unsatisfactory circumstances. His able address was followed by long and serious discussion until late in the evening. When his resolutions came to a vote, they passed by one hundred and eleven votes, out of fourteen hundred voters.⁹

The campaign to raise \$25,000 in Lancaster was undertaken as soon as the charter was approved, and local newspapers gave the project much encouragement. Most of the work was carried out by a committee of Lancaster citizens, Dr. John L. Atlee, John Reynolds, C. Hager, D. Longenecker and Samuel Humes, who accomplished their work with encouraging success.¹⁰

The actual process of removal was complicated by legal difficulties. The Literary Societies at Mercers-

⁹ Lancaster Intelligencer, March 12, 19th, 1850.

¹⁰ Lancaster Intelligencer; various notices and advertisements 1850-1851.

berg, for instance, owned their own properties, and yet they had no legal authority to convey this property to the new Franklin and Marshall College. Not until a supplementary act was passed by the legislature¹¹ could the property be turned over. When the transfer was made, the college attempted to sell it to Mercersburg citizens, who quite naturally refused to have anything to do with it for some years.

In addition, a large sum of money had to be transferred before the college could officially be established. The Reformed church had to raise seventeen thousand dollars to pay to the Lutherans as their third-interest in Franklin College. The fund was raised, as was the subscription from the city of Lancaster, but it took three years of constant and diligent work. Needless to say, during this interim from 1850 to 1853, the state of Marshall College at Mercersburg was not pleasant. Students did not know when the removal would take place, townspeople were disgruntled, and the faculty must have been affected by the uncertainty of their situation. Further distress was caused by the announcement of Dr. Nevin that he would not accompany the college to Lancaster. This plan of union, of course, did not affect the theological seminary, and the complete separation of the college from the seminary was a matter of some consequence, considering the close relationship which had existed between the two since their origin. Marshall College without Dr. Nevin or Dr. Schaff did not present a hopeful prospect.

¹¹ Feb. 12, 1853.

The new college, however, began with additional associates of prominence. The Board of Trustees was headed by James Buchanan, Lancaster's most famous citizen at the time. The faculty of Marshall College, with the exception of Dr. Nevin and Dr. Schaff, came to Lancaster—Professor William Nevin, Dr. Porter, and Theodore Appel. Professor Adolphus Koeppen, distinguished European scholar, was appointed professor of history and German literature.¹² Dr. John Light Atlee, eminent in the medical profession, became professor of Anatomy and Physiology. The college was without an official president for the first year, until Dr. E. V. Gerhart, who had been one of Rauch's students while at Marshall College, accepted the position in 1854. On June 7, 1853, the formal opening of "Franklin and Marshall College" took place in Fulton Hall.

The significance of the union between these two colleges was emphatically stressed by Rev. Alonzo Potter, who delivered an address at the opening exercises. He spoke of the tendency to multiply colleges and isolate them, and compared the practical methods carried out in common school systems, through consolidation, with the crippling estrangement which hindered adequate college development. He expressed the hope that cooperative movements, such as this one, would "prepare the way for the open university" in America, like those of England and France.

The European background of the college met with his particular praise. "This event seems to me to be auspicious," he said. "I observe among your

¹² See Klein and Altick: "Professor Koeppen."

Professors, one gentleman, at least, who was reared in a foreign university, and who has held an honorable post as teacher in a College in Southern Europe. (Professor Koeppen). I hear too that a distinguished German Professor, who several years since, was invited to leave his Fatherland for a chair in the Theological Faculty of Marshall College, has been invited to become your President. (Dr. Schaff, who did not accept this position) . . . I desire to see the example followed which Marshall College has given. In almost every country of Europe there are men of high endowments, of admirable erudition, capable of giving instruction to the most advanced students, who are yet languishing in obscurity and poverty. Such talent exists in Germany to so great an extent, that the intellectual and scholastic market is actually glutted. Here it is far otherwise. Pursuits of a more exciting and engrossing nature absorb, with us, the energy and enthusiasm which are given among the laborious, earnest-minded Germans to literary toil. We import their laboring population by thousands,—we import their accomplished artisans and agriculturists—we import from all the countries of continental Europe, teachers in the rudiments of their respective languages. Why should we not have a portion of their illustrious scholars and savants also? Where can they find a larger field, or the promise of better pecuniary remuneration.”

Pointing out special reasons why Pennsylvania was peculiarly fitted for such a policy, he continued, “There is another reason why it appears to me desirable that our higher instruction should have an infusion from Germany. That country has given

to the world an open Bible, the common school and the printing press. Wherever these its gifts are fully enjoyed—there a reading and a thinking people must be formed. Combined, as they are in this country, with a free political system, and with prodigious industrial activity, they make a nation of readers, a nation of workers, and to some extent a nation of thinkers. We have literature, but we want ripe thorough scholarship. We have philosophies, but they are crude, presumptuous and narrow . . . To her other gifts, then, let Germany add one more. Let her scholars teach us the patience, the thoroughness, the unquenchable zeal and lofty enthusiasm with which such subjects should be considered; and the manly frankness and boldness with which results should be announced.

“I cannot but anticipate another benefit from this movement. The teaching in this college, I trust, will always be the result of earnest thinking, of profound research. It is time we had done with the notion that superficial men make the best teachers. It is a notion which has been quite too prevalent in this country . . . The universities of Germany contain a great practical refutation of this pestilent heresy. The most popular teachers have been their ablest thinkers and profoundest scholars. They—and the remark applies in some measure to the professors of Scottish universities—have shown that a talent for elementary exposition is perfectly compatible with habits of the most devoted and intricate research—that, in truth, each promotes and is promoted by the other.

“Colleges in our land, like Universities in England, have sometimes been slow to feel the progress of

society. They have fallen back upon their privileges; they have cultivated too little sympathy with the public mind which it is their office to guide and instruct. They would have the masses feel great interest in the colleges, but they do not always think it necessary that the colleges should care much for the masses. Here, we trust, is an institution where such a spirit will be unknown. If there are men who, more than all others, should have pulses throbbing with a large humanity, with a generous patriotism; it is they who are in contact with the fountains of thought and whose business it is to trace the history of our race in its literature, and in all its struggles for a fairer and happier lot. Let teachers and pupils emulate each other in love for their kind, and in quick sympathy for every effort which would promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Let them so bear themselves that it shall be seen that a college is the true home for large minds and large hearts—for spirits that are enlightened and refined enough for the highest, and kindly and courteous enough for the lowliest in the land.”¹³

¹³ “Consolidation and Other Modifications of American Colleges” Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter. *Am. Journal of Education*, vol. 1, pp. 471-476.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER TEN

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE

Two very distinct ideas emerge from this survey of the background and the early progress of these two Pennsylvania colleges which united to become Franklin and Marshall College. There is a very constant and close relationship with the educational ideals and educational system of eighteenth and nineteenth century Germany; and there is a definite and clearly defined continuity established by the personal relationship which existed in the succession of men who planned it, developed it, and carried on its work in successive later generations.

Its relationship with Germany, over a long period of years, was peculiarly fortunate because it was during these particular years that German scholarship and German civilization led the world. The first half of the nineteenth century is the period in world history in which German universities took precedence over those of England and France, which had their own eras of intellectual supremacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, respectively.

Thwing has pointed out¹ that it is no new phenomenon for the universities of one nation to influence the citizens of another nation. "The whole history of medieval culture and civilization is

¹ "American and German Universities", p. 2.

marked by the influence of the universities of one people over the universities of another. The medieval university took its place with the empire and the papacy as an institution of international relationships." The influence of English university culture was undoubtedly the first important element in American intellectual life, fostered particularly through Harvard, Yale and William and Mary. From these centers, the English tradition of Oxford and Cambridge grew in America and became an early but integral part of the American cultural standard. Its influence was strongest during the colonial period—until estranged relationships with England broke the contact which had been continuous from the earliest days of settlement. There is also a brief period of the latter eighteenth century when the influence of French universities, particularly in connection with their political philosophy, was noticeable in American educational activities. The last, and most influential European system to affect American college and university methods and ideals was that of Germany. It was dominant throughout most of the nineteenth century, paralleling the years during which the American college was in its most fertile stages. As a natural consequence, the large majority of American colleges, born during the years when the prestige of German scholarship and academic freedom were at their best, adopted and have retained the traditions which were associated with the universities of Germany during the nineteenth century. The methods and ideals of the present American college and university have been, for the most part, definitely copied from those of nineteenth century Germany.

Germany was several centuries late in developing the national unity which characterized England during the colonial period of American history. The German element in America was also late in the establishment of its settlements, since it was not until 1750 that it constituted an important national stock in the colonies. It is not strange, therefore, that there were no organized efforts made to establish educational systems in America based on the German plan. Unsettled conditions in Germany, and language problems in Pennsylvania made the promotion of such a plan difficult.

Franklin College was the first American college planned to meet the particular needs of this new and important body of American settlers. It was planned by four graduates of German universities, to provide for what they considered the most essential foundation of any new social structure—an intelligent spiritual leadership. Subsequent developments indicated that they had planned too optimistically, and too soon.

Marshall College was one of the first American colleges to possess a president and faculty completely in accord with the highest educational ideals which nineteenth century Germany produced. German educators in American universities were not uncommon in 1830 or 1840, but there was no other institution in the country so directly associated with German philosophy, history and theology as was Marshall College from 1835 to 1853. The Prussian educational system was adopted officially by several American institutions, notably the University of Michigan, but this was in a later period. Marshall College received naturally and unofficially

the benefits of German university methods several decades before other American colleges came to the realization that the nineteenth century American institution was destined to be modelled upon German principles. Henry Philip Tappan, of Michigan, stated in 1852, "The state of Michigan has copied from Prussia what is acknowledged to be the most perfect educational system in the world."² Johns Hopkins, founded in 1876, directed its chief force "to the building up in America of a true university, a university permeated by the spirit of the universities of Germany, with research as the center, the heart of the whole organism."³ English, French and American scholars from 1830 to the end of the century were travelling through Germany to study and report upon educational methods, from the "kindergarten" system, to the graduate departments. Marshall College, definitely dominated by the scholarship of Rauch, the idealism of Nevin, and the research methods of Schaff, was far ahead, with respect to familiarity with German university methods.

The definite continuity which existed in connection with this institution seems remarkably clear and natural. The background of the college begins when pietistic movements in Europe sent missionaries to America. Most notable of these, as far as Pennsylvania was concerned, were Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Michael Schlatter, representing the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Reformed and Lutheran preachers, Muhlenberg's son among the latter, planned and organized a col-

² Walz, "German Influence," p. 50.

³ Ibid, p. 54.

lege at Lancaster in 1787 to educate German ministerial students. This was the period of experiment.

The period of transition saw the partial failure of the first experiment, and the beginning of a new plan. Each denomination planned a theological seminary of its own. From the Reformed Seminary grew Marshall College, which was fortunate in securing a prominent German scholar, Dr. Rauch, as its first president—and the man who gave it a distinctive character and individuality from the beginning. It was fortunate in securing Dr. John W. Nevin, who introduced a modern, Anglo-American point of view which harmonized with Rauch's European philosophy. And the arrival of Dr. Philip Schaff at the same institution not only emphasized and enhanced the significance of the college's European inheritance, but in addition gave it a distinctive American character, because Schaff was alert and open-minded enough to realize the importance of adapting European methods to American conditions. With Schaff, the college passed from its transition stage, and began a definite period of development as an institution shaped to meet the cultural needs of a growing America.

The period of development saw two colleges grow into close relationship with each other. Marshall College was accomplishing what Franklin College had been planned to accomplish. Franklin College had funds, but had not achieved much scholastic distinction. Marshall College had a unique intellectual background but existed under unsatisfactory circumstances at Mercersburg. The community of

Lancaster had confidence in the future of both institutions.

The influence of Marshall College continued after the union of the two institutions. Successive presidents of the college, in days when the president's activities were not hampered by much administrative work, carried on in their teaching, as a natural tradition, the educational philosophy which they had themselves received. President Gerhart, John W. Nevin, William Nevin, Thomas Gilmore Apple, John S. Stahr, Henry H. Apple, and John A. Schaeffer each received the foundation of his cultural background, particularly in philosophy, history and religion, from a predecessor definitely influenced by Marshall College. Each, in turn, influenced in his classroom activities and daily associations the thousands of students who have gone out from the college campus.

The history of Franklin and Marshall College is the history of an institution which has developed from within. That is the only way in which character develops.

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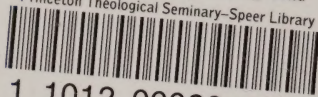
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